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M. TULLI CICERONIS

ORATIO PHILIPPICA SECUNDA.

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M. TULLI CICERONIS

ORATIO PHILIPPICA SECUNDA

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PREFACE.

I HAVE undertaken this edition of the second Philippic oration of Cicero at the request of the Syndics of the University Press, who desired me to expurgate the text and to write notes suitable for junior students. In both of these points I hope I have exercised due discretion. I have taken care to omit as little as possible from the text; in one instance* I have altered a word or two for convenience. In regard to the notes I have found it impossible to be very brief, when almost every sentence seems to require some explanation, but I have tried to keep my notes free from irrelevant matter.

In preparing this edition I have made constant use of the usual sources of information. Of the ancient authorities the most important are Suetonius, Plutarch, Appian, Dio Cassius, and of course the speeches and letters of Cicero himself. Among modern works I must acknowledge my great obligations to those

* In § 61.

wonderful storehouses of information, Drumann's Geschichte Roms, Lange's Römische Alterthümer and Fischer's Römische Zeittafeln. Next to these should be mentioned Mommsen's History of Rome (new English ed. in 4 vols. 1868), Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire, and Marquardt and Mommsen's Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer. Among subsidiary aids may be mentioned the grammars of Draeger, Madvig, Roby and Kennedy, and the excellent Latin Lexicon by Lewis and Short. I have not had much opportunity of using Merguet's great Lexicon zu den Reden Cicero's. Of the various commentaries on the second Philippic I have consulted Wernsdorf's Variorum edition and of course that of Halm revised and enlarged by Professor Mayor (ed. 2, 1865). This book with its valuable historical introduction and copious notes is familiar to every student of classical literature and must always be used by those who desire a comprehensive view of the subject. I hope I have acknowledged all direct obligations to it; how much I owe to it indirectly it would be difficult to say. All other recent editions I have refrained from consulting, whether rightly or wrongly I hardly know. Lastly I am deeply indebted to the kindness of Dr James S. Reid, who has read all my notes and sent me many valuable additions and corrections. In some cases I have added his notes in whole or in substance with his initials appended, in others I have modified my notes in accordance with his views without any special mention of the fact. I also owe a great deal, as all students of Latin do, to Dr Reid's editions of various works of Cicero.

I have written a short introduction to the speech, giving a very brief sketch of the chief events of the period, which may be useful for reference, and I have also added an analysis. The text of my edition is, with one or two exceptions, that of Orelli, Baiter and Halm, 1856; but I have tried to improve the spelling, taking as my chief guide Brambach's Hülfsbüchlein für Lateinische Rechtschreibung (ed. 3, 1884).

The following abbreviations are sometimes used in the notes:—

HM.	stands	for	Mayor's edition of Halm.
M.	,,	,,	Mayor's additions to Halm's notes.
MM.	,,	,,	Marquardt and Mommsen's Handbook.
SDA.	,,	,,	Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.
LS.	,,	,,	Lewis and Short's Dictionary.
R.	,,	,,	Roby's Latin Grammar.

INTRODUCTION.

1. THE story of the life of Gaius Julius Caesar, the greatest of the Romans, has been told so often, and the chief events of his career are or ought to be so well known, that it seems hardly needful to set forth afresh the familiar details. It may suffice to say that for some years before his death he had been gathering into his own hands the supreme power of the Roman state. After the defeat of Cn. Pompeius Magnus at the battle of Pharsalus and his subsequent death, he had no great rival in arms. Three years sufficed to quell the remaining leaders of the aristocratic party. The battles of Zela, Thapsus and Munda left him sole ruler of the Roman world. In the years 46 and 45 honours were showered on him without stint and often without sense. He was made dictator for life, and superintendent of morals (*praefectus morum*); he was styled 'the father of his country', and allowed to usurp the title of Imperator which had previously been of limited application, and various royal and even divine privileges and attributes were granted him by an obsequious senate. He practically destroyed the free election of the Roman magistrates by nominating such persons as he chose and expecting the people to ratify his choice by the empty form of election. King in reality, it only remained that he should be king in name. Accordingly on Feb. 15, 44, Antony taking advantage of the licence afforded by the festival of the Lupercalia offered him a

tiara in the presence of the assembled multitude. Shouts of applause rent the air when the invidious gift was rejected by Caesar with outward alacrity if with inward reluctance. The time had not yet come when a Roman could set a seal on the servitude of his countrymen by assuming the title of king. That attempts would sooner or later be made on the life of one in Caesar's position, notwithstanding his invariable clemency to his political opponents, must have been obvious to everyone. A conspiracy was already being formed, in which the most active members were Marcus and Decimus Brutus, C. Cassius, the two Cascas and Trebonius. Even on Antony himself there rests a shadow of suspicion. The plot was carried to its completion on March 15, 44, when Caesar fell, stabbed to death, at the foot of his rival's statue, and in the hall that his rival had built.

2. Before proceeding farther we may glance back at the earlier life of Antony who now becomes, Cicero perhaps excepted, the most conspicuous figure in the Roman world. The gens Antonia was divided into two branches, a patrician branch distinguished by the surname Merenda, and a plebeian branch with no distinctive surname. To the latter belonged Marcus Antonius who was born about the year 83. His grandfather Marcus was a well-known orator who was put to death by order of Marius and Cinna in 87 as an adherent of Sulla. Cicero has much to say of his eloquence and worth. His son Marcus was a person of no reputation for ability or honesty, and the title of Creticus was only given him in derision for his mismanagement of an expedition against Crete. He married a lady named Julia, and their eldest son was Marcus Antonius the future triumvir. His character from his earliest youth seems to have been wild and undisciplined. If Cicero may be believed he was deeply in debt at the age of 16. Nor were his domestic relations calculated to improve his character. His uncle Gaius, Cicero's colleague in the consulship in 63, was suspected of favouring the Catilinarian conspiracy and was afterwards banished for having practised extortion in his province. His mother, after his father's death, married P. Lentulus who took part in the

conspiracy of Catiline and was put to death by order of the senate acting under the advice of Cato and Cicero. To this event Plutarch attributes Antony's hatred for the latter. One of his most intimate friends was the profligate C. Curio whose father in vain attempted to withdraw his son from the demoralising connection. In 58 he was one of the associates of the notorious P. Clodius, but soon after left Rome for the East where, after a short sojourn in Greece for the purpose of study, he served with distinction in Palestine and Egypt. On his return from the East he betook himself to Caesar in Gaul, where he might hope to gain fresh military experience and at the same time be free from the persecution of his creditors. From Gaul he returned in 53 to stand for the quaestorship, bearing a letter of recommendation from Caesar to Cicero who befriended him and aided him in his candidature. In 52 while still quaestor he abruptly quitted Rome for Caesar's camp in Gaul, returning again in 50 at Caesar's bidding and supplied from Caesar's purse to stand for the augurship at Rome. He was successful, and in the same year was also elected tribune, and became an acknowledged leader of the democratic party who looked to Caesar as their chief. In the early days of January 49 he vehemently espoused the cause of Caesar in the senate during the deliberations of that body upon the political deadlock between the two great parties in the state. As is well known, no compromise could be effected. Antony fled from Rome to Caesar who thereupon crossed the Rubicon. Henceforth we find Antony fighting on his master's side or carrying out his policy in Italy, sometimes with more zeal than discretion. Cicero has much to say of his reckless conduct when left in charge of Italy as propraetor in 49. In the summer of 48 he fought at Pharsalia. In the autumn he was made master of horse when Caesar received the dictatorship for a year. In the following year when Caesar received his third dictatorship, Lepidus succeeded Antony as master of the horse, probably because the latter's wild and indiscreet behaviour had estranged him from his chief. In 46 he married the 'shrill tongu'd Fulvia,' a woman, as Plutarch says 'who had no mind for spinning or

housewifery; one who desired not to sway any man of private station, but aspired to command one who could command his fellows'; a person of such ambition and strength of will naturally exercised a powerful influence over the somewhat pliant character of her husband. In 45 Antony was again reconciled to Caesar, and on his chief being elevated to the rank of a divinity was appointed his flamen or special priest. In the memorable year 44 Caesar and Antony were joint consuls. Antony's action on the festival of the Lupercalia has been already mentioned. On the occasion of the murder he stood outside the senate house, detained in earnest conversation by one of the conspirators who feared his interference.

3. Immediately after the murder the senators fled in alarm from the senate spreading dismay throughout the city. The conspirators brandishing their blood-stained daggers ran to the Capitol proclaiming the downfall of the tyrant and the advent of liberty. There they were visited in the evening by Cicero and others. Antony and Lepidus fearing to share the fate of their chief fled to private houses for refuge; but the fright of the former was tempered with discretion and he succeeded the same night in making himself master of the treasure deposited in the temple of Ops as well as of Caesar's papers which he obtained from Calpurnia. On the following day Dolabella assumed the consulship in the place of Caesar. He visited the conspirators in the Capitol and returned to the forum with M. Brutus and Cassius who harangued the people. But the populace seems to have been too paralysed by the suddenness of the catastrophe to be capable of concerted thought or action, and the conspirators returned to the Capitol without having made any distinct impression. They then opened negotiations with Antony and Lepidus which resulted in a meeting of the senate being held on the 17th in the temple of Tellus, the approaches to which were protected by a strong armed force, where an amnesty was proclaimed, a general authorisation was granted to all Caesar's acts, and arrangements made for his funeral. A public meeting was also held in the forum at which Lepidus and Antony addressed the people amid mingled cries

of menace and applause, though the general feeling seemed to incline in favour of peace. On the same day Brutus addressed a tumultuous meeting in the precincts of the Capitol. To ensure the safety of the conspirators Antony sent them his little son as a hostage. On the 18th another meeting of the senate was held at which all the conspirators were present, and the principal business that was transacted was the settlement of the provincial governments. Macedonia, Syria, Asia, Bithynia, Cisalpine Gaul were assigned respectively to M. Brutus, Cassius, Trebonius, Cimber and D. Brutus. On the 19th or 20th the funeral took place, and it was then that Antony, after enumerating by the mouth of a herald the decrees passed in Caesar's honour, added a few laudatory remarks* on the character of the deceased, which had a singular effect in arousing the feelings of the assembled multitude. The excited mob seized upon every combustible object within reach, piled them in a heap, placing the dead body on the top, and burnt the whole to ashes. Not content with this they hurried with lighted brands to the curia of Pompey, the scene of the murder, and set it on fire, and also burnt several private houses. Most of the conspirators, terrified at this sudden outburst of resentment, quitted the city in haste. The prompt vigour of the consul Dolabella soon restored order and confidence, and Cicero warmly praises him for killing the impostor Amatius and for overthrowing the column of Numidian marble that had been erected on the scene of the funeral. But Antony had learned the art of bribery from Caesar, and now that he was possessed of Caesar's treasure, he could exercise his art effectively. It was not long before he bought over Dolabella, whose defection was a great blow to Cicero and those who wished to reestablish the old republic on a firm basis. Soon after the funeral Antony had begun to promulgate a series of arbitrary measures, which for the most part made the patriots

* Dr Reid reminds me that the traditional view of this speech which represents it as a marvellous exhibition of impassioned eloquence and histrionic art is not in accordance with the sober account given of it by Suetonius.

regard him as a second despot. By these laws, some of which are referred to in the course of this speech, he abolished the office of dictator, distributed certain lands to the veterans, altered the constitution of the criminal courts, restored from exile some notorious offenders, made a change in the tenure of provincial governments, and altered the assignment of those governments. Beside these enactments he granted privileges in the way of exemption from tribute and other fiscal burdens to individuals or communities who were willing to purchase them, and all this in pretended compliance with Caesar's written instructions, for which purpose, if Cicero may be believed, he organised a system of wholesale forgery of documents purporting to be Caesar's. Some time in April he made a journey into Campania to arouse the veterans in his favour, and was in danger of being killed in a disturbance at Capua. Cicero inveighs bitterly against his riotous excesses on this journey. After his return to Rome in May, he remained in the city till October, when he paid a short visit to Brundisium apparently for the purpose of securing to his interest the newly arrived Macedonian legions. At the end of November he again left Rome to open the campaign against D. Brutus. But it is now time to consider the circumstances in which the Philippic orations were delivered.

4. Marcus Tullius Cicero does not appear to have had any share in the conspiracy against Caesar's life, but when the news of the murder was brought him his delight was unbounded. Letter after letter in his private correspondence gives expression to his exultation at the fall of the tyrant; only one defect, as he afterwards discovered, marred the glorious deed; it was incomplete because Antony was allowed to survive. On the 15th he had an interview with the conspirators in the Capitol. He seems to have been in some way a witness of the appropriation of the treasure in the temple of Ops. On the 17th he spoke in favour of the proposed amnesty. But the popular revulsion of feeling after the funeral of Caesar warned him that Rome was not a fit place for patriots, and accordingly at the end of April he started on a long projected visit to Greece. He reached

the coast in July after many stoppages on the way at various country villas, and took ship to Rhegium whence he paid a hasty visit to Syracuse. From Rhegium he set sail for Greece in August, but was driven back by contrary winds. He then heard that there was a change for the better in the political outlook at Rome and that there was a prospect of the return of Brutus and Cassius. He thereupon hurried back to be in time for the full meeting of the senate announced for the 1st of September. He arrived on the last day of August, but being by his own account fatigued by his journey he did not attend the house on the first, having naturally no desire to hear Antony propose a public thanksgiving in Caesar's honour. Thereupon Antony furious at his absence and supposed indecision threatened to pull or burn down his house if he did not come. On the 2nd Cicero attended and delivered his first Philippic in which he gently expostulated with Antony, who was not present, for his conduct. The tone of the speech was throughout conciliatory and judicious. But nothing could appease Antony's resentment against his old foe. He spent about a fortnight, if Cicero may be trusted, practising declamation in Scipio's villa at Tivoli, and on the 19th appeared in the senate house which he had surrounded with his armed retainers and delivered a vehement invective against Cicero who prudently stayed away. In reply to this attack Cicero wrote, but never delivered, the famous second Philippic which for lofty eloquence and scathing irony has seldom if ever been surpassed. It was not published till after Antony's departure from Rome. The third and fourth Philippics were delivered in December; the remaining ten in the spring of 43. On the 7th of December of that year Cicero was murdered near Caieta by order of the triumvirs Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian who cemented their alliance by a general proscription of the most prominent of their personal enemies amounting, it is said, to many hundred persons.

5. Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, the first, if we except Julius, of the great line of Roman Emperors, was born in B.C. 63, and was the son of M. Octavius and Atia daughter of M. Atius Balbus whose wife was Julia, sister of C. Julius Caesar. He

was therefore the great nephew of Julius. Though not mentioned in the second Philippic he was already a prominent personage as Julius' adopted son and heir. On learning the news of the murder he crossed to Italy from Apollonia where he had been completing his education and journeyed to Rome, having an interview with Cicero on the way at Puteoli. He arrived in Rome at the end of April. On the 9th of May he was introduced by the tribune Tib. Canutius to a public assembly at which he delivered a speech promising to carry out the testamentary behests of his uncle who had left a large sum of money to be divided among the Roman people. It was only natural that a rupture should ensue sooner or later between him and Antony, and we are told that a strong feeling of jealousy and suspicion existed between them from the very first. During Antony's journey to Brundisium in October Octavian made overtures and grants of money to some of the military colonies established by his uncle, and won over to his side two of the newly arrived Macedonian legions, a course of proceeding which made it clear to thoughtful observers that he had in view a war with Antony. At the end of the year he opened negotiations with D. Brutus, offering him aid against Antony. War was declared in January 43, and at the end of April Antony was totally defeated in the battle of Mutina. The further course of the war lies beyond the scope of the Philippic orations.

ANALYSIS.

§ 1. The foes of the state have always been my foes; take care lest you meet with their fate. I attacked them because they were foes to the common weal, but I have never attacked you, why then this rage against me? § 2. Is it due to contempt? or do you think the senate will sympathise with you? or do you want to enter the lists with me in rhetoric? Your motive is to ingratiate yourself with the foes of your country. § 3. First of all I will reply to your charge of broken friendship.

You say I once ran counter to your interests. How could I do otherwise in that particular case? You want to recommend yourself to the mob by this reference to your humble relations. You say you once came to me for instruction; no; better for you if you had. § 4. You say it was through your giving way to me that I got the augurship: absurd, you had no influence then. § 5. You say you did not kill me at Brundisium and that I ought to be grateful. What merit is it to abstain from a crime? § 6. But granting the truth of this, have I been ungrateful? Did I not speak of you the other day in the mildest and friendliest terms, far beyond your deserts? § 7. You shall understand to-day how kind it was of me to abstain from reviewing your conduct. You read a letter purporting to come from me. What a breach of confidence! § 8. And how foolish

of you! What would you say, and how show off your eloquence to your armed satellites (by the way, I wonder whether your eloquence could defend them on a charge of homicide!) if I were to deny that I wrote it? How could you prove it, expert though you are in handwriting? § 9. But I do not deny it. Fool that you are, you object to it because I wrote it in a friendly and respectful tone, as though I were addressing a good man. I will not read your letter in which you ask me to restore one of your friends from exile. Why should I interfere in your headlong course? § 10. You had Caesar's permission to restore him, why ask for mine?

I hope the senate will give me a patient hearing when I speak against you and for myself. I can hardly treat you as a true consul. § 11. My consulship was devoted to the service of the senate; you and Clodius (the bane of whose life is yours too) alone censured it. § 12. Many good and able men, now dead, warmly praised my consulship. § 13. So does L. Cotta, who still lives, who decreed me a unique honour; § 14. so does your Uncle L. Caesar, whom you ought to have made your friend and adviser, instead of the profligates § 15. whose society you frequent. Do you assert in this temple, hallowed by such memories, that your consulship is better than mine? § 16. All the best men in Rome flocked to the Capitol to guard the senate, not bands of slaves to force it, as you pretend. § 17. No one failed in that hour of peril. You assert falsely that I refused to let your stepfather be buried. § 18. Why remind us of your connection with him? Your speech was contradictory in reference to your step-father's punishment. § 19. Again how can you talk of the armed force on the Capitol in my consulship when this temple is beset with your retainers? § 20. You laughed at my verses, but you are not the person to judge either my verses or my conduct.

§ 21. You said that I instigated the murder of Clodius; or at all events rejoiced at it: you once tried to kill him yourself. § 22. No one charged me with this at the enquiry.

§ 23. You say I caused the war by severing Pompey and Caesar; your dates are wrong; I once tried to do so long before the civil war. § 24. I twice urged Pompey to thwart Caesar, but my advice was always disregarded. I wished they had either never formed or never broken their alliance.

§ 25. You say I counselled the murder of Caesar. The suggestion is flattering but untrue. §§ 26, 27. If I had, my name would have been talked of; besides, our glorious regicides needed no urging from me. § 28. You say that Brutus, while yet redhanded, called out my name; no doubt because he felt he had rivalled my former exploits. § 29. Fool, do you not see that to rejoice at the deed is as criminal as to counsel it? In respect of their joy all good men are equally guilty with me. § 30. You are so stupid as to compliment Brutus and abuse me! And your judgement is as faulty as your language. Decide whether these men were murderers or liberators. § 31. They must be either criminals or patriots; you always treat them with respect, as though you thought them patriots. § 32. You acquit them of guilt and must therefore think them worthy of honour. I will tell them never to deny that I had a hand in this most glorious deed. § 33. The odium of the deed is nothing compared to the glory. Happy men worthy of honour in all times! § 34. If I had been one of them I should not have spared you. But how do you defend your own conduct? You were notoriously implicated in the plot, though the deed required a truer man than you are. § 35. If you were asked to whom the deed was profitable, you might well say to yourself. § 36. It has saved you from ruin. However do not fear, no one is likely to accuse you of the deed. Now for your lesser charges against me.

§ 37. You blame me for my conduct in Pompey's camp. I confess I was despondent, not for my own life, but because I saw the coming disasters. Would that my counsels had been followed! § 38. Then Rome would have seen no more of you. But you say I alienated Pompey. We disagreed, but retained our friendship. § 39. Those who were with him in his flight know what he thought of me. You charge me with untimely joking, to which I need hardly reply. § 40. I must have hit the mean, if you charge me first with gloom and then with gaiety.

You say that I have received no inheritance. Better for my friends if I had not! But I have, and to a great amount. § 41. You have money left you by persons you have never seen, whose proper heirs you manage to oust. § 42. Yet you never took up your father's inheritance.

And it was to bring such charges as these that you studied rhetoric! What a difference between you and your grandfather! § 43. How absurdly you pay your teacher! But enough of your charges against me. Now let me examine your conduct.

§ 44. To begin with your boyhood: even then you were notoriously in debt; soon you fell under Curio's influence. § 45. Curio's father in distress at the trouble you brought on his family asked me to interfere. § 46. I did so with some success, an unpleasant remembrance for you.

§ 47. Enough of your youthful excesses; let us pass on to the rest of your life, and I hope the senate will hear me patiently.

§ 48. You became a friend of Clodius and encouraged his wicked designs. Then you went to Alexandria with Gabinius, a fitting associate. Thence to Gaul, neglecting your own home which was in the hands of your creditors. § 49. You returned to stand for the quaestorship, in which I helped you. You tried to kill Clodius, professing a desire to gratify me, but I gave you no encouragement. § 50. You were elected. Suddenly, setting all rules at defiance, you went off to Gaul, to glut yourself with rapine. Thence returning, a beggar, you stood for the tribuneship.

Now I will relate your crimes against the state. § 51. In that office you defied the senate which had to declare you a public enemy. § 52. No other course was open to that body in face of your opposition, and you had to fly to Caesar. § 53. You were the cause of his making war on his country; he owned it himself. § 54. History will tell how Italy was devastated. § 55. And you were the cause of it all. But you did some deeds of special infamy. § 56. You restored a notorious criminal from exile, but overlooked your banished uncle. § 57. Every one knows how you oppressed Italy

when left in charge by Caesar. § 58. You displayed your luxury and your infamy throughout the land.

§ 59. In the civil war, a delicate subject to handle, you were successful. At Brundisium you were good enough to spare my life. § 60. Granting your service to me, your insolence has interfered with my gratitude; yet you knew what reply I had in store. § 61. You returned to your old ways at Brundisium. § 62. Again you spread havoc over Italy. You were made Caesar's Master of Horse. You lived like a bandit. § 63. Some of your actions were disgusting. § 64. Caesar returned from the East victorious. Pompey's estates were sold, you alone had the face to bid for them. § 65. Did you dread the wrath of gods and men? How you glutted yourself on that hero's wealth! § 66. In a few days it was all squandered. § 67. No words can express your wanton profusion. § 68. You entered his hallowed house; the thought of it must have haunted your dreams, madman though you are. § 69. The purity of that household was once proverbial. But in a sudden fit of virtue, you got rid of your mistress, your only good deed. § 70. You call yourself 'a consul and an Antony'; but you bring discredit on your name. Now I return to the civil war.

§ 71. Bloodthirsty warrior though you were, you let your chief go alone to Africa. On his return he sued you for the purchase money of Pompey's house. § 72. You remonstrated at the supposed injustice. § 73. But in vain. You had to put up for sale everything you could scrape together. § 74. The auction was stopped. Report says you tried to murder Caesar. He gave you a few days' grace and went to Spain. You were too poor spirited to follow. § 75. Dolabella was at Caesar's side in his three great battles, while you got no farther than Narbo. Meanwhile Pompey's heirs were trying to recover their property. § 76. What did you do on your return, you who criticise my return? You went about begging for the consulship, instead of canvassing like your forefathers. § 77. After drinking at Saxa Rubra you concocted a surprise for your wife. § 78. People laughed when you said you had come to look after your property.

You met Caesar on his return from Spain and curried favour again, § 79. securing the consulship and trying to oust Dolabella. § 80. Though Caesar had promised the office to Dolabella you said that as augur you would vitiate the election. § 81. You could have done it equally well as consul, but you are as ignorant as you are shameless. § 82. How abject you were when in office! When the day for Dolabella's election came, the proceedings went on as usual; § 83. when suddenly you interposed, feigning some unfavourable sign. But I must not prejudge Dolabella's case. § 84. Confess that you were drunk, or explain the meaning of your interposition.

But now for the Lupercalia, the very mention of which makes you start. § 85. You offered Caesar a diadem which he refused. § 86. You begged him to take it and so make you a slave. He is killed and yet you survive! § 87. You had your action entered in the public records; no wonder there is no rest for such a traitor to our liberties.

§ 88. Caesar was going to discuss Dolabella's case on the Ides, but was murdered first. This reminds me how precipitately you fled that day. § 89. I always said what your conduct would be. I saw nothing of you till the 17th. § 90. On that day you behaved well, but only through fear. Then you presided over the funeral. § 91. It was you who roused the mob to fury. Yet directly afterwards you proposed some sensible resolutions. § 92. People thought the republic was reviving, but I knew better. You started a shameless traffic in grants and privileges, doing your best to ruin the state. § 93. You seized the public treasure and paid your debts with it. You and your friends sold decrees, one in particular about Deiotarus, § 94 who was a bitter foe to Caesar, yet now receives from you a grant purporting to have been made him by Caesar. § 95, 96. The wording of it betrays it. You and Fulvia drew up the bond, which even your lawyer will tell you is of little avail, for Deiotarus recovered his possessions for himself after Caesar's death, instead of waiting to purchase them from you. § 97. You forged innumerable documents, one, both mischievous and absurd, about Crete. § 98. You restored exiles, excluding

only two or three from your compassion, as you did your uncle, whom you once urged to stand for the censorship to the general amusement. § 99. When the time came, you left him in the lurch, as you did in the case of the land commission. His daughter too you divorced with public insult. § 100. The written behests said to have been left by Caesar, which were to have been submitted to the consideration of the senate on the first of June, were published and sold by you long before.

How shameful that journey of yours through Italy in April and May when you were all but killed at Capua! § 101. Would you could be quite! You settled your minions in those rich domains, to the great loss of the state. § 102. You conducted a colony to Casilinum where one existed already. § 103. Then you took possession of Varro's villa pretending that you had bought it from Caesar. § 104. This was false; in fact Caesar requested you to give it up. No one would permit you to retain it. How you disgraced the house during your occupation of it! § 105. That seat of learning was befouled by your orgies. § 106. On your return to Rome people left their villages to greet you, but you treated them with contempt. § 107. Other towns you worried for their loyalty to our patriots. In your absence Dolabella behaved nobly at Rome, but your return corrupted him. § 108. Your approach to Rome reminded us of the worst days of Cinna, Sulla and Caesar. § 109. The senate was deserted, but you nevertheless set to work to rescind all Caesar's acts and set aside his bequests.

§ 110. Your office as Caesar's flamen binds you to do him reverence, yet you now neglect the religious ceremonies held in his honour. § 111. You ask whether I approve of them: of course not, but you ought to do so. What answer have you? Lay bare your thoughts as you once did your person.

§ 112. Enough of the past. Defend your conduct this day. Why is the forum thronged with your mercenaries? § 113. Your power must fall soon; perhaps your wife will aid us. The state has its patriots whose chief desire is to preserve peace, but even peace must not be bought at the price of liberty. § 114. They

have set a glorious example of tyrannicide, and their example is easy of imitation.

§ 115. Remember the day when you abolished the dictatorship. How different your conduct now! Sunk in vice, you have lost all taste for true glory; you are insensible even to fear. § 116. If you do not fear your foes, fear your friends. Even Caesar fell a victim to the righteous indignation of his friends. § 117. You resemble him in ambition only. Rome has learnt a lesson, and perhaps one of our patriots will take it to heart. § 118. Your punishment will not linger. Reconcile yourself to the republic before it be too late. I have always served the state faithfully and will not desert it now; I would even die for it. § 119. Twenty years ago I declared my readiness to die, and death would now be a happy crowning point to all my services. If I die, may I leave Rome free, and may each member of our state meet the destiny that he deserves.

M. TULLI CICERONIS

ORATIO PHILIPPICA

SECUNDA.

I. Quonam meo fato, patres conscripti, fieri dicam, ut 1
nemo his annis viginti rei publicae fuerit hostis, qui non
bellum eodem tempore mihi quoque indixerit? Nec vero
necesse est quemquam a me nominari: vobiscum ipsi recordamini.
Mihi poenarum illi plus quam optarem dederunt;
te miror, Antoni, quorum facta imitere, eorum exitus non
perhorrescere. Atque hoc in aliis minus mirabar. Nemo
enim illorum inimicus mihi fuit voluntarius: omnes a me rei
publicae caussa lacessiti. Tu ne verbo quidem violatus, ut
audacior quam Catilina, furiosior quam Clodius viderere, ultro
me maledictis lacessisti, tuamque a me alienationem commendationem
tibi ad impios civis fore putavisti. Quid 2
putem? contemptumne me? Non video nec in vita nec in
gratia nec in rebus gestis nec in hac mea mediocritate ingeni,
quid despicere possit Antonius. An in senatu facillime de
me detrahi posse credidit? qui ordo clarissimis civibus bene
gestae rei publicae testimonium multis, mihi uni conservatae
dedit. An decertare mecum voluit contentione dicendi?
Hoc quidem est beneficium. Quid enim plenius, quid
uberius quam mihi et pro me et contra Antonium dicere?
Illud profecto: non existimavit sui similibus probari posse,

3 se esse hostem patriae, nisi mihi esset inimicus. Cui prius quam de ceteris rebus respondeo, de amicitia, quam a me violatam esse criminatus est, quod ego gravissimum crimen iudico, pauca dicam.

II. Contra rem suam me nescio quando venisse questus est. An ego non venirem contra alienum pro familiari et necessario? Non venirem contra gratiam non virtutis spe collectam? Non venirem contra iniuriam, quam iste intercessoris iniquissimi beneficio obtinuit, non iure praetorio? Sed hoc idcirco commemoratum a te puto, uti te infimo ordini commendares, cum omnes te recordarentur libertini generum et liberos tuos nepotes Q. Fadi, libertini hominis, fuisse. At enim te in disciplinam meam tradideras—nam ita dixisti—; domum meam ventitaras. Ne tu, si id fecisses, melius famae, melius pudicitiae tuae consuluisses. Sed neque fecisti nec, si cuperes, tibi id per C. Curionem facere
4 licuisset. Auguratus petitionem mihi te concessisse dixisti. O incredibilem audaciam! o impudentiam praedicandam! Quo enim tempore me augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt—nec enim licebat a pluribus nominari—, tu nec solvendo eras nec te ullo modo nisi eversa re publica fore incolumem putabas. Poteras autem eo tempore auguratum petere, cum in Italia C. Curio non esset? aut tum, cum es factus, unam tribum sine Curione ferre potuisses? cuius etiam familiares de vi condemnati sunt, quod tui nimis studiosi fuissent.

5 III. At beneficio sum tuo usus. Quo? quamquam illud ipsum, quod commemoras, semper prae me tuli. Malui me tibi debere confiteri, quam cuiquam minus prudenti non satis gratus videri. Sed quo beneficio? quod me Brundisii non occideris? Quem ipse victor, qui tibi, ut tute gloriari solebas, detulerat ex latronibus suis principatum, salvom esse voluisset, in Italiam ire iussisset, eum tu occideres? Fac

potuisse. Quod est aliud, patres conscripti, beneficium latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, eis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? Quod si esset beneficium, numquam qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant conservati, quos tu ipse clarissimos viros soles appellare, tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Quale autem beneficium est, quod te abstinueris nefario scelere? Qua in re non tam iucundum mihi videri debuit non interfectum me a te, quam miserum te id impune facere potuisse. Sed sit beneficium, quando quidem maius 6
accipi a latrone nullum potuit: in quo potes me dicere ingratum? An de interitu rei publicae queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer? At in illa querella, misera quidem et luctuosa, sed mihi pro hoc gradu, in quo me senatus populusque Romanus collocavit, necessaria, quid est dictum a me cum contumelia? quid non moderate? quid non amice? Quod quidem cuius temperantiae fuit, de M. Antonio querentem, abstinere maledictis? praesertim cum tu reliquias rei publicae dissipavisses; cum domi tuae turpissimo mercatu omnia essent venalia; cum leges eas, quae numquam promulgatae essent, et de te et a te latas confiterere; cum auspicia augur, intercessionem consul sustulisses; cum esses foedissime stipatus armatis; cum omnis impuritates pudica in domo cottidie susciperes vino lustrisque confectus. At ego, tam- 7
quam mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset, quocum multae et magnae fuerunt, non cum uno gladiatore nequissimo, de re publica graviter querens, de homine nihil dixi. Itaque hodie perficiam ut intellegat, quantum a me beneficium tum acceperit.

IV. At etiam litteras, quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit homo et humanitatis expers et vitae communis ignarus. Quis enim umquam, qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas offensione aliqua interposita in medium protulit palamque recitavit? Quid est

aliud tollere ex vita vitae societatem, tollere amicorum collo-
quia absentium? quam multa ioca solent esse in epistulis,
quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur! quam multa seria,
8 neque tamen ullo modo divolganda! Sit hoc inhumanitatis
tuae: stultitiam incredibilem videte. Quid habes quod mihi
opponas, homo diserte, ut Tironi et Mustelae iam esse
videris? qui cum hoc ipso tempore stent cum gladiis in con-
spectu senatus, ego quoque te disertum putabo, si ostenderis,
quomodo sis eos inter sicarios defensurus. Sed quid opponas
tandem, si negem me umquam ad te istas litteras misisse?
Quo me teste convincas? An chirographo? in quo habes
scientiam quaestuosam. Qui possis? sunt enim librari manu.
Iam invideo magistro tuo, qui te tanta mercede, quantam
9 iam proferam, nihil sapere doceat. Quid enim est minus
non dico oratoris, sed hominis, quam id obicere adversario,
quod ille si verbo negarit, longius progredi non possit, qui
obiecerit? At ego non nego: teque in isto ipso convinco
non inhumanitatis solum, sed etiam amentiae. Quod enim
verbum in istis litteris est non plenum humanitatis, offici,
benevolentiae? Omne autem crimen tuum est, quod de te
in his litteris non male existimem; quod scribam tamquam
ad civem, tamquam ad bonum virum, non tamquam ad
sceleratum et latronem. At ego tuas litteras, etsi iure
poteram a te lacessitus, tamen non proferam: quibus petis
ut tibi per me liceat quendam de exsilio reducere, adiurasque,
id te invito me non esse facturum, idque a me impetras.
Quid enim me interponerem audaciae tuae? quem neque
auctoritas huius ordinis, neque existimatio populi Romani,
10 neque leges ullae possent coercere. Verum tamen quid erat
quod me rogares, si erat is, de quo rogabas, Caesaris lege
reductus? Sed videlicet meam gratiam voluit esse: in quo
ne ipsius quidem ulla esse poterat lege lata.

V. Sed cum mihi, patres conscripti, et pro me aliquid,

et in M. Antonium multa dicenda sint: alterum peto a
vobis, ut me pro me dicentem benigne, alterum ipse efficiam
ut, contra illum cum dicam, attente audiatis. Simul illud
oro: si meam cum in omni vita, tum in dicendo moderatio-
nem modestiamque cognostis, ne me hodie, cum isti, ut
provocavit, respondero, oblitum esse putetis mei. Non
tractabo ut consulem: ne ille quidem me ut consularem.
Etsi ille nullo modo consul, vel quod ita vivit vel quod ita
rem publicam gerit vel quod ita factus est: ego sine ulla
controversia consularis. Ut igitur intellegeretis, qualem ipse 11
se consulem profiteretur, obiecit mihi consulatum meum.
Qui consulatus verbo meus, patres conscripti, re vester fuit.
Quid enim ego constitui, quid gessi, quid egi, nisi ex huius
ordinis consilio, auctoritate, sententia? Haec tu homo
sapiens, non solum eloquens, apud eos, quorum consilio
sapientiaque gesta sunt, ausus es vituperare? Quis autem
meum consulatum, praeter te Publiumque Clodium, qui
vituperaret, inventus est? Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicut
C. Curioni, manet: quoniam id domi tuae est, quod fuit
illorum utrique fatale. Non placet M. Antonio consulatus 12
meus. At placuit P. Servilio, ut eum primum nominem ex
illius temporis consularibus, qui proxime est mortuos: placuit
Q. Catulo, cuius semper in hac re publica vivet auctoritas:
placuit duobus Lucullis, M. Crasso, Q. Hortensio, C. Curioni,
C. Pisoni, M'. Glabrioni, M'. Lepido, L. Volcatio, C. Figulo,
D. Silano, L. Murenae, qui tum erant consules designati:
placuit idem quod consularibus M. Catoni; qui cum multa
vita excedens providit, tum quod te consulem non vidit.
Maxime vero consulatum meum Cn. Pompeius probavit;
qui, ut me primum decedens ex Syria vidit, complexus et
gratulans, meo beneficio patriam se visurum esse dixit. Sed
quid singulos commemoro? Frequentissimo senatui sic
placuit, ut esset nemo, qui mihi non ut parenti gratias ageret;

qui non mihi vitam suam, fortunas, liberos, rem publicam referret acceptam.

13 VI. Sed quoniam illis, quos nominavi, tot et talibus viris res publica orbata est, veniamus ad vivos, qui duo de consularium numero reliqui sunt. L. Cotta, vir summo ingenio summaque prudentia, rebus eis gestis, quas tu reprehendis, supplicationem decrevit verbis amplissimis, eique illi ipsi, quos modo nominavi, consulares senatusque cunctus assensus est; qui honos post conditam hanc urbem habitus
14 est togato ante me nemini. L. Caesar, avonculus tuus, qua oratione, qua constantia, qua gravitate sententiam dixit in sororis suae virum, vitricum tuum! Hunc tu cum auctorem et praeceptorem omnium consiliorum totiusque vitae debuisses habere, vitrici te similem, quam avonculi maluisti. Huius ego alienus consiliis consul tum usus sum: tu sororis filius, ecquid ad eum umquam de re publica rettulisti? At ad quos refert? Di immortales! ad eos scilicet, quorum nobis
15 etiam dies natales audiendi sunt. Hodie non descendit Antonius. Cur? Dat nataliciam in hortis. Cui? Neminem nominabo. Putate tum Phormioni alicui, tum Gnathoni, tum etiam Ballioni. O foeditatem hominis flagitiosam! O impudentiam, nequitiam, libidinem non ferendam! Tu cum principem senatorem, civem singularem, tam propinquom habeas, ad eum de re publica nihil referas: referas ad eos, qui suam rem nullam habent, tuam exhauriunt?

VII. Tuus videlicet salutaris consulatus, perniciosus meus. Adeone pudorem cum pudicitia perdidisti, ut hoc in eo templo dicere ausus sis, in quo ego senatum illum, qui quondam florens orbi terrarum praesidebat, consulebam, tu
16 homines perditissimos cum gladiis collocavisti? At etiam ausus es—quid autem est, quod tu non audeas?—clivom Capitolinum dicere me consule plenum servorum armatorum fuisse. Ut illa, credo, nefaria senatus consulta fierent, vim

afferebam senatui. O miser, sive illa tibi nota non sunt—nihil enim boni nosti—sive sunt, qui apud talis viros tam impudenter loquare! Quis enim eques Romanus, quis praeter te adulescens nobilis, quis ullius ordinis, qui se civem esse meminisset, cum senatus in hoc templo esset, in clivo Capitolino non fuit? quis nomen non dedit? Quamquam nec scribae sufficere, nec tabulae nomina illorum capere potuerunt. Etenim cum homines nefarii de patriae 17
parricidio confiterentur, consciorum indiciis, sua manu, voce paene litterarum coacti, se urbem inflammare, cives trucidare, vastare Italiam, delere rem publicam consensisse; quis esset, qui ad salutem communem defendendam non excitaretur? praesertim cum senatus populusque Romanus haberet ducem, qualis si qui nunc esset, tibi idem quod illis accidit contigisset. Ad sepulturam corpus vitrici sui negat a me datum. Hoc vero ne P. quidem Clodius dixit umquam. Quem, quia iure ei inimicus fui, doleo a te omnibus vitiis esse superatum. Qui autem tibi venit in mentem redigere in 18
memoriam nostram, te domi P. Lentuli esse educatum? An verebare, ne non putaremus natura te potuisse tam improbum evadere, nisi accessisset etiam disciplina?

VIII. Tam autem eras excors, ut tota in oratione tua tecum ipse pugnares; ut non modo non cohaerentia inter se diceres, sed maxime diiuncta atque contraria; ut non tanta mecum, quanta tibi tecum esset contentio! Vitricum tuum fuisse in tanto scelere fatebare, poena affectum querebare. Ita quod proprie meum est, laudasti: quod totum est senatus, reprehendisti. Nam comprehensio sontium mea; animadversio senatus fuit. Homo disertus non intellegit eum, quem contra dicit, laudari a se; eos, apud quos dicit, vituperari. Iam illud cuius est, non dico audaciae—cupit 19
enim se audacem—, sed, quod minime volt, stultitiae, qua vincit omnis, clivi Capitolini mentionem facere, cum inter

subsellia nostra versentur armati? cum in hac cella Concordiae, di immortales! in qua me consule salutares sententiae dictae sunt, quibus ad hanc diem viximus, cum gladiis homines collocati stent? Accusa senatum; accusa equestrem ordinem, qui tum cum senatu copulatus fuit; accusa omnis ordines, omnis civis, dum confiteare hunc ordinem hoc ipso tempore ab Ityraeis circumsederi. Haec tu non propter audaciam dicis tam impudenter, sed quia, qui tantam rerum repugnantiam non videas, nihil profecto sapis. Quid est enim dementius, quam, cum rei publicae perniciosa arma
20 ipse ceperis, obicere alteri salutaria? At etiam quodam loco facetus esse voluisti. Quam id te, di boni, non decebat! In quo est tua culpa non nulla. Aliquid enim salis a mima uxore trahere potuisti. Cedant arma togae. Quid? tum nonne cesserunt? At postea tuis armis cessit toga. Quaeramus igitur, utrum melius fuerit, libertati populi Romani sceleratorum arma, an libertatem nostram armis tuis cedere. Nec vero tibi de versibus plura respondebo; tantum dicam breviter: te neque illos, neque ullas omnino litteras nosse: me nec rei publicae nec amicis umquam defuisse, et tamen omni genere monumentorum meorum perfecisse ut meae vigiliae meaeque litterae et iuventuti utilitatis et nomini Romano laudis aliquid afferrent. Sed haec non huius temporis: maiora videamus.

21 IX. P. Clodium meo consilio interfectum esse dixisti. Quidnam homines putarent, si tum occisus esset, cum tu illum in foro spectante populo Romano gladio insecutus es negotiumque transegisses, nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset eisque oppilatis impetum tuum compressisset? Quod quidem ego favisse me tibi fateor, suasisse ne tu quidem dicis. At Miloni ne favere quidem potui; prius enim rem transegit quam quisquam eum facturum id suspicaretur. At ego suasi. Scilicet is animus erat Milonis,

ut prodesse rei publicae sine suasore non posset! At laetatus sum. Quid ergo? in tanta laetitia cunctae civitatis me unum
tristem esse oportebat? Quamquam de morte Clodi fuit 22
quaestio—non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta; quid enim attinebat nova lege quaeri de eo, qui hominem occidisset, cum esset legibus quaestio constituta? quaesitum est tamen—: quod igitur, cum res agebatur, nemo in me dixit,
id tot annis post tu es inventus qui diceres? Quod vero 23
dicere ausus es idque multis verbis, opera mea Pompeium a Caesaris amicitia esse diiunctum ob eamque caussam culpa mea civile bellum esse natum: in eo non tu quidem tota re, sed, quod maximum est, temporibus errasti.

X. Ego M. Bibulo, praestantissimo cive, consule, nihil praetermisi, quantum facere enitique potui, quin Pompeium a Caesaris coniunctione avocarem. In quo Caesar felicior fuit; ipse enim Pompeium a mea familiaritate diiunxit. Postea vero, quam se totum Pompeius Caesari tradidit, quid ego illum ab eo distrahere conarer? Stulti erat sperare:
suadere impudentis. Duo tamen tempora inciderunt, quibus 24
aliquid contra Caesarem Pompeio suaserim. Ea velim reprehendas, si potes: unum, ne quinquenni imperium Caesari prorogaret: alterum, ne pateretur ferri, ut absentis eius ratio haberetur. Quorum si utrumvis persuasissem, in has miserias numquam incidissemus. Atque idem ego, cum iam opes omnis et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Caesarem detulisset seroque ea sentire coepisset, quae ego multo ante provideram, inferrique patriae bellum viderem nefarium: pacis, concordiae, compositionis auctor esse non destiti, meaque illa vox est nota multis: Utinam, Cn. Pompei, cum C. Caesare societatem aut numquam coisses, aut numquam diremisses! fuit alterum gravitatis, alterum prudentiae tuae. Haec mea, M. Antoni, semper et de Pompeio et de re publica consilia fuerunt: quae

si valuissent, res publica staret, tu tuis flagitiis, egestate, in-
famia concidisses.
25 XI. Sed haec vetera: illud vero recens, Caesarem meo
consilio interfectum. Iam vereor, patres conscripti, ne, quod
turpissimum est, praevaricatorem mihi apposuisse videar, qui
me non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam alienis. Quis
enim meum in ista societate gloriosissimi facti nomen audivit?
Cuius autem, qui in eo numero fuisset, nomen est occulta-
tum? occultatum dico? cuius non statim divolgatum? Citius
dixerim iactasse se aliquos, ut fuisse in ea societate viderentur,
cum conscii non fuissent, quam ut quisquam celari vellet qui
26 fuisset. Quam veri simile porro est in tot hominibus partim
obscuris, partim adulescentibus neminem occultantibus,
meum nomen latere potuisse? Etenim si auctores ad liber-
andam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego
impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem cottidie
videret, alter etiam Ahalae? Hi igitur his maioribus ab
alienis potius consilium peterent quam a suis? et foris
potius quam domo? Quid? C. Cassius, in ea familia
natus, quae non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem
cuiusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit:
qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad
ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam
27 constituerat, non ad contrariam navis appulisset. Cn. Domi-
tium non patris interitus, clarissimi viri, non avonculi mors,
non spoliatio dignitatis ad recuperandam libertatem, sed
mea auctoritas excitavit? An C. Trebonio ego persuasi?
cui ne suadere quidem ausus essem: quo etiam maiorem ei
res publica gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani
unius amicitiae praeposuit, depulsorque dominatus quam
particeps esse maluit. An L. Tillius Cimber me est auc-
torem secutus? quem ego magis fecisse illam rem sum ad-
miratus, quam facturum putavi, admiratus autem ob eam

caussam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriae fuisset.
Quid? duos Servilios—Cascas dicam, an Ahalas?—et hos
auctoritate mea censes excitatos potius quam caritate rei
publicae? Longum est persequi ceteros: idque rei publicae
praeclarum, fuisse tam multos, ipsis gloriosum.
XII. At quem ad modum me coarguerit homo acutus 28
recordamini. Caesare interfecto, inquit, statim cruentum
alte extollens M. Brutus pugionem Ciceronem nominatim
exclamavit atque ei recuperatam libertatem est gratulatus.
Cur mihi potissimum? Quia sciebam? Vide ne illa caussa
fuerit appellandi mei, quod, cum rem gessisset consimilem
rebus eis, quas ipse gesseram, me potissimum testatus est se
aemulum mearum laudium exstitisse. Tu autem, omnium 29
stultissime, non intellegis, si, id quod me arguis, voluisse
interfici Caesarem crimen sit, etiam laetatum esse morte
Caesaris crimen esse? Quid enim interest inter suasorem
facti et probatorem? aut quid refert, utrum voluerim fieri an
gaudeam factum? Ecquis est igitur exceptis eis qui illum
regnare gaudebant, qui illud aut fieri noluerit aut factum
improbarit? Omnes ergo in culpa. Etenim omnes boni,
quantum in ipsis fuit, Caesarem occiderunt. Aliis consilium,
aliis animus, aliis occasio defuit: voluntas nemini. Sed 30
stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite. Sic enim
dixit: Brutus, quem ego honoris caussa nomino,
cruentum pugionem tenens Ciceronem exclamavit:
ex quo intellegi debet eum conscium fuisse. Ergo
ego sceleratus appellor a te, quem tu suspicatum aliquid
suspicaris: ille, qui stillantem prae se pugionem tulit, is a te
honoris caussa nominatur? Esto: sit in verbis tuis hic
stupor: quanto in rebus sententiisque maior? Constitue
hoc, consul, aliquando: Brutorum, C. Cassi, Cn. Domiti, C.
Treboni, reliquorum quam velis esse caussam: edormi cra-
pulam, inquam, et exhala. An faces admovendae sunt, quae

excitent tantae caussae indormientem? Numquamne in-
telleges, statuendum tibi esse, utrum illi, qui istam rem
gesserunt, homicidae sint an vindices libertatis?
31 XIII. Attende enim paulisper cogitationemque sobrii
hominis punctum temporis suscipe. Ego, qui sum illorum,
ut ipse fateor, familiaris; ut a te arguor, socius, nego quic-
quam esse medium: confiteor eos, nisi liberatores populi
Romani conservatoresque rei publicae sint, plus quam si-
carios, plus quam homicidas, plus etiam quam parricidas
esse, si quidem est atrocius patriae parentem quam suum
occidere. Tu homo sapiens et considerate, quid dicis? Si
parricidas, cur honoris caussa a te sunt et in hoc ordine et
apud populum Romanum semper appellati? Cur M. Brutus
referente te legibus est solutus, si ab urbe plus quam decem
dies afuisset? cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti
honore celebrati? cur provinciae Bruto et Cassio datae? cur
quaestores additi? cur legatorum numerus auctus? Atque
haec acta per te; non igitur homicidas. Sequitur ut libera-
tores tuo iudicio, quando quidem tertium nihil potest esse.
32 Quid est? num conturbo te? Non enim fortasse satis quae
diiunctius dicuntur intellegis. Sed tamen haec summa est
conclusionis meae: quoniam scelere a te liberati sunt, ab
eodem te amplissimis praemiis dignissimos iudicatos. Itaque
iam retexo orationem meam. Scribam ad illos ut, si qui
forte quod a te mihi obiectum est quaerent sitne verum, ne
cui negent. Etenim vereor ne aut celatum me illis ipsis non
honestum; aut invitatum refugisse mihi sit turpissimum.
Quae enim res umquam, pro sancte Iuppiter! non modo in
hac urbe, sed in omnibus terris est gesta maior? quae
gloriosior? quae commendatior hominum memoriae sempi-
ternae? In huius me tu consili societatem tamquam in
33 equom Troianum cum principibus includis? Non recuso:
ago etiam gratias, quoquo animo facis. Tanta enim res est,

ut invidiam istam, quam tu in me vis concitare, cum laude
non comparem. Quid enim beatius illis, quos tu expulsos a
te praedicas et relegatos? qui locus est aut tam desertus aut
tam inhumanus qui illos, cum accesserint, non affari atque
appetere videatur? qui homines tam agrestes, qui se, cum
eos adspexerint, non maximum cepisse vitae fructum putent?
quae vero tam immemor posteritas, quae tam ingratae litterae
reperientur, quae eorum gloriam non immortalitatis memoria
prosequantur? Tu vero adscribe me talem in numerum.
XIV. Sed unam rem vereor ne non probes. Si enim 34
fuissem, non solum regem, sed regnum etiam de re publica
sustulissem: et, si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, mihi
crede, non solum unum actum, sed totam fabulam con-
fecissem. Quamquam si interfici Caesarem voluisse crimen
est, vide, quaeso, Antoni, quid tibi futurum sit, quem et
Narbone hoc consilium cum Trebonio cepisse notissimum
est, et ob eius consili societatem, cum interficeretur Caesar,
tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari. Ego autem—vide quam
tecum agam non inimice—quod bene cogitasti aliquando,
laudo: quod non indicasti, gratias ago: quod non fecisti,
ignosco. Virum res illa quaerebat. Quod si te in iudicium 35
quis adducat usurpetque illud Cassianum, cui bono fuerit,
vide, quaeso, ne haereas. Quamquam illud fuit, ut dicebas
quidem, omnibus bono, qui servire nolebant: tibi tamen
praecipue, qui non modo non servis, sed etiam regnas; qui
maximo te aere alieno ad aedem Opis liberavisti; qui per
easdem tabulas innumerabilem pecuniam dissipavisti; ad
quem e domo Caesaris tam multa delata sunt; cuius domi
quaestuosissima est falsorum commentariorum et chirogra-
phorum officina, agrorum, oppidorum, immunitatium, vecti-
galium flagitiosissimae nundinae. Etenim quae res egestati 36
et aeri alieno tuo praeter mortem Caesaris subvenire potu-
isset? Nescio quid conturbatus esse videris: numquid sub-

times ne ad te hoc crimen pertinere videatur? Libero te metu: nemo credet umquam; non est tuum de re publica bene mereri; habet istius pulcherrimi facti clarissimos viros res publica auctores: ego te tantum gaudere dico, fecisse non arguo. Respondi maximis criminibus: nunc etiam reliquis respondendum est.

37 XV. Castra mihi Pompei atque illud omne tempus obiecisti. Quo quidem tempore si, ut dixi, meum consilium auctoritasque valuisset, tu hodie egeres, nos liberi essemus; res publica non tot duces et exercitus amisisset. Fateor enim me, cum ea quae acciderunt providerem futura, tanta in maestitia fuisse, quanta ceteri optimi cives, si idem providissent, fuissent. Dolebam, dolebam, patres conscripti, rem publicam vestris quondam meisque consiliis conservatam brevi tempore esse perituram. Nec vero eram tam indoctus ignarusque rerum, ut frangerer animo propter vitae cupiditatem, quae me manens conficeret angoribus, dimissa molestiis omnibus liberaret. Illos ego praestantissimos viros, lumina rei publicae, vivere volebam, tot consularis, tot praetorios, tot honestissimos senatores, omnem praeterea florem nobilitatis ac iuventutis, tum optimorum civium exercitus: qui si viverent, quamvis iniqua condicione pacis—mihi enim omnis pax cum civibus bello civili utilior videbatur—rem publicam
38 hodie teneremus. Quae sententia si valuisset, ac non ei maxime mihi, quorum ego vitae consulebam, spe victoriae elati obstitissent, ut alia omittam, tu certe numquam in hoc ordine, vel potius numquam in hac urbe mansisses. At vero Cn. Pompei voluntatem a me alienabat oratio mea. An ille quemquam plus dilexit? cum ullo aut sermones, aut consilia contulit saepius? Quod quidem erat magnum, de summa re publica dissentientis in eadem consuetudine amicitiae permanere. Ego, quid ille, et contra ille, quid ego sentirem et spectarem, videbat. Ego incolumitati civium primum, ut

postea dignitati possemus; ille praesenti dignitati potius consulebat. Quod autem habebat uterque quid sequeretur,
idcirco tolerabilior erat nostra dissensio. Quid vero ille 39
singularis vir ac paene divinus de me senserit, sciunt qui eum de Pharsalia fuga Paphum persecuti sunt. Numquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica, nisi plena amicissimi desideri, cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora. Et eius viri nomine me insectari audes, cuius me amicum, te sectorem esse fateare?

XVI. Sed omittatur bellum illud, in quo tu nimium felix fuisti. Ne de iocis quidem respondebo, quibus me in castris usum esse dixisti. Erant quidem illa castra plena curae: verum tamen homines quamvis in turbidis rebus sint, tamen, si modo homines sunt, interdum animis relaxantur.
Quod autem idem maestitiam meam reprehendit, idem 40
iocum, magno argumento est me in utroque fuisse moderatum.

Hereditatem mihi negasti venire. Utinam hoc tuum verum crimen esset! plures amici mei et necessarii viverent. Sed qui istuc tibi venit in mentem? Ego enim amplius sestertium ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus rettuli. Quamquam in hoc genere fateor feliciorem esse te. Me nemo nisi amicus fecit heredem, ut cum illo commodo, si quod erat, animi quidam dolor iungeretur: te is, quem tu vidisti
numquam, L. Rubrius Casinas fecit heredem. Et quidem 41
vide, quam te amarit is, qui albus aterne fuerit ignoras. Fratris filium praeteriit, Q. Fufi, honestissimi equitis Romani suique amicissimi, quem palam heredem semper factitarat, ne nominat quidem: te, quem numquam viderat aut certe numquam salutaverat, fecit heredem. Velim mihi dicas, nisi molestum est, L. Turselius qua facie fuerit, qua statura, quo municipio, qua tribu. "Nihil scio," inquies, "nisi quae praedia habuerit." Igitur fratrem exheredans te faciebat

heredem. In multas praeterea pecunias alienissimorum hominum vi eiectis veris heredibus, tamquam heres esset,
42 invasit. Quamquam hoc maxime admiratus sum, mentionem te hereditatum ausum esse facere, cum ipse hereditatem patris non adisses.

XVII. Haec ut colligeres, homo amentissime, tot dies in aliena villa declamasti? quamquam tu quidem, ut tui familiarissimi dictitant, vini exhalandi, non ingeni acuendi caussa declamitas. At vero adhibes ioci caussa magistrum, suffragio tuo et compotorum tuorum rhetorem, cui concessisti ut in te quae vellet diceret, salsum omnino hominem: sed materia facilis est in te et in tuos dicta dicere. Vide autem quid intersit inter te et avom tuum. Ille sensim dicebat,
43 quod caussae prodesset; tu cursim dicis aliena. At quanta merces rhetori data est! Audite, audite, patres conscripti, et cognoscite rei publicae volnera. Duo milia iugerum campi Leontini Sex. Clodio rhetori assignasti et quidem immunia, ut populi Romani tanta mercede nihil sapere disceres. Num etiam hoc, homo audacissime, ex Caesaris commentariis? Sed dicam alio loco et de Leontino agro et de Campano: quos iste agros ereptos rei publicae turpissimis possessoribus inquinavit. Iam enim, quoniam criminibus eius satis respondi, de ipso emendatore et correctore nostro quaedam dicenda sunt. Nec enim omnia effundam, ut, si saepius decertandum sit, ut erit, semper novus veniam: quam facultatem mihi multitudo istius vitiorum peccatorumque largitur.

44 XVIII. Visne igitur te inspiciamus a puero? Sic, opinor. A principio ordiamur. Tenesne memoria praetextatum te decoxisse? Patris, inquies, ista culpa est. Concedo. Etenim est pietatis plena defensio. Illud tamen audaciae tuae, quod sedisti in quattuordecim ordinibus, cum esset lege Roscia decoctoribus certus locus, quamvis quis

fortunae vitio, non suo decoxisset. Sumpsisti virilem togam, sed cito Curio intervenit. Nemo umquam puer tam 45
fuit in domini potestate quam tu in Curionis. Quotiens te pater eius domu sua eiecit? quotiens custodes posuit, ne limen intrares? cum tu tamen nocte socia, cogente mercede, per tegulas demitterere. Quae flagitia domus illa diutius ferre non potuit. Scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? Recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio maerens iacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prosternens lacrimans te mihi commendabat; orabat ut te contra suum patrem, si sestertium sexagiens peteret, defenderem: tantum enim se pro te intercessisse dicebat. Ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidi ferre non posset, se in exsilium iturum. Quo tempore ego 46
quanta mala florentissimae familiae sedavi vel potius sustuli! Patri persuasi ut aes alienum fili dissolveret; redimeret adulescentem, summa spe et animi et ingeni praeditum, rei familiaris facultatibus; eumque a tua non modo familiaritate, sed etiam congressione patrio iure et potestate prohiberet. Haec tu cum per me acta meminisses, nisi illis, quos videmus, gladiis confideres, maledictis me provocare ausus esses?

XIX. Sed iam flagitia omittamus: sunt quaedam, quae 47
honeste non possum dicere: tu autem eo liberior, quod ea in te admisisti, quae a verecundo inimico audire non posses. Sed reliquom vitae cursum videte: quem quidem celeriter perstringam. Ad haec enim, quae in civili bello, in maximis rei publicae miseriis fecit, et ad ea, quae cottidie facit, festinat animus. Quae peto ut, quamquam multo notiora vobis quam mihi sunt, tamen, ut facitis, attente audiatis. Debet enim talibus in rebus excitare animos non cognitio solum rerum, sed etiam recordatio. Etsi incidamus opinor, media, ne nimis sero ad extrema veniamus.

48 Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat; eius omnium incendiorum fax: cuius etiam domi iam tum quiddam molitus est. Quid dicam ipse optime intellegit. Inde iter Alexandream contra senatus auctoritatem, contra rem publicam et religiones: sed habebat ducem Gabinium, quicum quidvis rectissime facere posset. Qui tum inde reditus aut qualis? Prius in ultimam Galliam ex Aegypto quam domum. Quae autem domus? Suam enim quisque domum tum obtinebat, nec erat usquam tua. Domum dico? quid erat in terris, ubi in tuo pedem poneres, praeter unum Misenum, quod cum sociis tamquam Sisaponem tenebas?

49 XX. Venisti e Gallia ad quaesturam petendam. Aude dicere te prius ad parentem tuam venisse quam ad me. Acceperam iam ante Caesaris litteras, ut mihi satis fieri paterer a te: itaque ne loqui quidem sum te passus de gratia. Postea sum cultus a te, tu a me observatus in petitione quaesturae. Quo quidem tempore P. Clodium approbante populo Romano in foro es conatus occidere: cumque eam rem tua sponte conarere, non impulsu meo, tamen ita praedicabas, te non existimare, nisi illum interfecisses, umquam mihi pro tuis in me iniuriis satis esse facturum. In quo demiror, cur Milonem impulsu meo rem illam egisse dicas, cum te ultro mihi idem illud deferentem numquam sim adhortatus. Quamquam, si in eo perseverares, ad tuam gloriam
50 rem illam referri malebam quam ad meam gratiam. Quaestor es factus. Deinde continuo sine senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Caesarem cucurristi. Id enim unum in terris egestatis, aeris alieni, nequitiae perditis vitae rationibus perfugium esse ducebas. Ibi te cum et illius largitionibus et tuis rapinis explevisses, si hoc est explere, † quod statim effundas, advolasti egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses.

XXI. Accipite nunc, quaeso, non ea, quae ipse in se, atque in domesticum decus impure et intemperanter, sed quae in nos fortunasque nostras, id est in universam rem publicam, impie ac nefarie fecerit. Ab huius enim scelere omnium malorum principium natum reperietis. Nam, cum 51
L. Lentulo C. Marcello consulibus Kalendis Ianuariis labentem et prope cadentem rem publicam fulcire cuperetis, ipsique C. Caesari, si sana mente esset, consulere velletis: tum iste venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum consiliis vestris opposuit cervicesque suas ei subiecit securi, qua multi minoribus in peccatis occiderunt. In te, M. Antoni, id decrevit senatus et quidem incolumis, nondum tot luminibus extinctis, quod in hostem togatum decerni est solitum more maiorum. Et tu apud patres conscriptos contra me dicere ausus es, cum ab hoc ordine ego conservator essem, tu hostis rei publicae iudicatus? Commemoratio illius tui sceleris intermissa est, non memoria deleta. Dum genus hominum, dum populi Romani nomen exstabit, quod quidem erit, si per te licebit, sempiternum, tua illa pestifera intercessio nominabitur. Quid cupide a senatu, quid temere fiebat, cum 52
tu unus adulescens universum ordinem decernere de salute rei publicae prohibuisti, neque semel, sed saepius? neque tu tecum de senatus auctoritate agi passus es? Quid autem agebatur, nisi ne deleri et everti rem publicam funditus velles, cum te neque principes civitatis rogando neque maiores natu monendo neque frequens senatus agendo de vendita atque addicta sententia movere potuit? Tum illud multis rebus ante temptatis necessario tibi volnus inflictum est, quod paucis ante te, quorum incolumis fuit nemo. Tum contra te dedit arma hic ordo consulibus reliquisque imperiis et potestatibus: quae non effugisses, nisi te ad arma Caesaris contulisses.

XXII. Tu, tu, inquam, M. Antoni, princeps C. Caesari 53

omnia perturbare cupienti caussam belli contra patriam in-
ferendi dedisti. Quid enim aliud ille dicebat? quam caussam
sui dementissimi consili et facti afferebat, nisi quod inter-
cessio neglecta, ius tribunicium sublatum, circumscriptus a
senatu esset Antonius? Omitto quam haec falsa, quam
levia, praesertim cum omnino nulla caussa iusta cuiquam esse
possit contra patriam arma capiendi. Sed nihil de Caesare:
tibi certe confitendum est caussam perniciosissimi belli per-
54 sona tua constitisse. O miserum te, si haec intellegis! mise-
riorem, si non intellegis, hoc litteris mandari, hoc memoriae
prodi, huius rei ne posteritatem quidem omnium seculorum
umquam immemorem fore, consules ex Italia expulsos cum-
que eis Cn. Pompeium, quod imperi populi Romani decus
ac lumen fuit, omnis consularis, qui per valetudinem exsequi
cladem illam fugamque potuissent, praetores, praetorios,
tribunos plebis, magnam partem senatus, omnem subolem
iuventutis, unoque verbo rem publicam expulsam atque ex-
55 terminatam suis sedibus! Ut igitur in seminibus est caussa
arborum et stirpium, sic huius luctuosissimi belli semen tu
fuisti. Doletis tris exercitus populi Romani interfectos:
interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos civis: eos quoque
vobis eripuit Antonius. Auctoritas huius ordinis afflicta est:
afflixit Antonius. Omnia denique, quae postea vidimus—
quid autem mali non vidimus?—si recte ratiocinabimur, uni
accepta referemus Antonio. Ut Helena Troianis, sic iste
huic rei publicae belli caussa, caussa pestis atque exiti fuit.
Reliquae partes tribunatus principi similes. Omnia perfecit,
quae senatus salva re publica ne fieri possent perfecerat.
Cuius tamen scelus in scelere cognoscite.

56 XXIII. Restituebat multos calamitosos. In eis patrui
nulla mentio. Si severus, cur non in omnis? Si misericors,
cur non in suos? Sed omitto ceteros. Licinium Denticulam
de alea condemnatum, collusorem suum, restituit: quasi

vero ludere cum condemnato non liceret! sed ut, quod in
alea perdiderat, beneficio legis dissolveret. Quam attulisti
rationem populo Romano cur eum restitui oporteret? Ab-
sentem credo in reos relatum; rem indicta caussa iudicatam;
nullum fuisse de alea lege iudicium; vi oppressum et armis;
postremo, quod de patruo tuo dicebatur, pecunia iudicium
esse corruptum. Nihil horum. At vir bonus, et re publica
dignus. Nihil id quidem ad rem: ego tamen, quoniam con-
demnatum esse pro nihilo est, ita ignoscerem. Hominem
omnium nequissimum, qui non dubitaret vel in foro alea
ludere, lege, quae est de alea, condemnatum qui in integrum
restituit, is non apertissime studium suum ipse profitetur?
In eodem vero tribunatu, cum Caesar in Hispaniam profi- 57
ciscens huic conculcandam Italiam tradidisset, quae fuit eius
peragratio itinerum! lustratio municipiorum! Scio me in
rebus celebratissimis omnium sermone versari, eaque, quae
dico dicturusque sum, notiora esse omnibus, qui in Italia
tum fuerunt, quam mihi, qui non fui. Notabo tamen singulas
res: etsi nullo modo poterit oratio mea satis facere vestrae
scientiae. Etenim quod umquam in terris tantum flagitium
exstitisse auditum est? tantam turpitudinem? tantum de-
decus?

XXIV. Vehebatur in essedo tribunus plebis; lictores 58
laureati antecedebant; inter quos aperta lectica mima porta-
batur; quam ex oppidis municipales homines honesti, obviam
necessario prodeuntes, non noto illo et mimico nomine, sed
Volumniam consalutabant. Horum flagitiorum iste ves-
tigiis omnia municipia, praefecturas, colonias, totam denique
Italiam impressit.

Reliquorum factorum eius, patres conscripti, difficilis est 59
sane reprehensio et lubrica. Versatus in bello est: saturavit
se sanguine dissimillimorum sui civium. Felix fuit, si potest
ulla in scelere esse felicitas. Sed quoniam veteranis cautum

esse volumus, quamquam dissimilis est militum caussa et tua —illi secuti sunt, tu quaesisti ducem—, tamen, ne apud illos me in invidiam voces, nihil de genere belli dicam. Victor e Thessalia Brundisium cum legionibus revertisti. Ibi me non occidisti. Magnum beneficium! Potuisse enim fateor. Quamquam nemo erat eorum, qui tum tecum fuerunt, qui
60 mihi non censeret parci oportere. Tanta est enim caritas patriae, ut vestris etiam legionibus sanctus essem, quod eam a me servatam esse meminissent. Sed fac id te dedisse mihi, quod non ademisti, meque a te habere vitam, quia non a te sit erepta: licuitne mihi per tuas contumelias hoc tuum beneficium sic tueri, ut tuebar, praesertim cum te haec auditurum videres?

61 XXV. Venisti Brundisium ~~ad~~ tuam mimulam. Quid est? num mentior? Quam miserum est id negare non posse, quod sit turpissimum confiteri! Si te municipiorum non pudebat, ne veterani quidem exercitus? quis enim miles fuit, qui Brundisii illam non viderit? quis qui nescierit venisse eam tibi tot dierum viam gratulatum? quis qui non indoluerit tam sero se quam nequam hominem secutus esset cognoscere?
62 Italiae rursus percursatio eadem comite mima; in oppida militum crudelis et misera deductio; in urbe auri, argenti, maximeque vini, foeda direptio. Accessit ut Caesare ignaro, cum esset ille Alexandreae, beneficio amicorum eius magister equitum constitueretur. Tum existimavit se suo iure cum Hippia vivere et equos vectigalis Sergio mimo tradere. Tum sibi non hanc quam nunc male tuetur, sed M. Pisonis domum ubi habitaret legerat. Quid ego istius decreta, quid rapinas, quid hereditatum possessiones datas, quid ereptas proferam? Cogebat egestas: quo se verteret, non habebat. Nondum ei tanta a L. Rubrio, non a L. Turselio hereditas venerat; nondum in Cn. Pompei locum, multorumque aliorum, qui aberant, repentinus heres successerat. Erat ei

vivendum latronum ritu, ut tantum haberet, quantum rapere potuisset.

Sed haec, quae robustioris improbitatis sunt, omittamus: 63
loquamur potius de nequissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate tantum vini in Hippiae nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modo visu foedam, sed etiam auditu! Si inter cenam in ipsis tuis immanibus illis poculis hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe duceret? In coetu vero populi Romani, negotium publicum gerens, magister equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus gremium suum et totum tribunal implevit. Sed haec ipse fatetur esse in suis sordibus: veniamus ad splendidiora.

XXVI. Caesar Alexandrea se recepit, felix, ut sibi qui- 64
dem videbatur, mea autem sententia, qui rei publicae sit hostis, felix esse nemo potest. Hasta posita pro aede Iovis Statoris bona subiecta Cn. Pompei—miserum me! consumptis enim lacrimis tamen infixus haeret animo dolor—, bona, inquam, Cn. Pompei Magni voci acerbissimae subiecta praeconis. Una in illa re servitutis oblita civitas ingemuit, servientibusque animis, cum omnia metu tenerentur, gemitus tamen populi Romani liber fuit. Exspectantibus omnibus quisnam esset tam impius, tam demens, tam dis hominibusque hostis, qui ad illud scelus sectionis auderet accedere, inventus est nemo praeter Antonium, praesertim cum tot essent circum hastam illam, qui alia omnia auderent. Unus inventus est qui id auderet, quod omnium fugisset et reformidasset audacia. Tantus igitur te stupor oppressit, vel, ut 65
verius dicam, tantus furor, ut primum, cum sector sis isto loco natus, deinde cum Pompei sector, non te exsecratum populo Romano, non detestabilem, non omnis tibi deos, non omnis homines et esse inimicos et futuros scias? At quam

insolenter statim helluo invasit in eius viri fortunas, cuius virtute terribilior erat populus Romanus exteris gentibus, iustitia carior!

XXVII. In eius igitur viri copias cum se subito ingurgitasset, exsultabat gaudio persona de mimo, modo egens, repente dives. Sed, ut est apud poetam nescio quem, male
66 parta male dilabuntur. Incredibile ac simile portenti est, quonam modo illa tam multa quam paucis non dico mensibus, sed diebus effuderit. Maximus vini numerus fuit, permagnum optimi pondus argenti, pretiosa vestis, multa et lauta supellex et magnifica multis locis, non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed tamen abundantis. Horum paucis
67 diebus nihil erat. Quae Charybdis tam vorax? Charybdim dico? quae si fuit, animal unum fuit: Oceanus, me dius fidius, vix videtur tot res, tam dissipatas, tam distantibus in locis positas tam cito absorbere potuisse. Nihil erat clausum, nihil obsignatum, nihil scriptum. Apothecae totae nequissimis hominibus condonabantur. Alia mimi rapiebant, alia mimae: domus erat aleatoribus referta, plena ebriorum: totos dies potabatur atque id locis pluribus: suggerebantur etiam saepe—non enim semper iste felix—damna aleatoria. Conchyliatis Cn. Pompei peristromatis servorum in cellis lectos stratos videres. Quam ob rem desinite mirari haec tam celeriter esse consumpta. Non modo unius patrimonium quamvis amplum, ut illud fuit, sed urbis et regna celeriter tanta nequitia devorare potuisset. At idem aedis
68 etiam et hortos. O audaciam immanem! tu etiam ingredi illam domum ausus es? tu illud sanctissimum limen intrare? tu illarum aedium dis penatibus os impurissimum ostendere? Quam domum aliquamdiu nemo adspicere poterat, nemo sine lacrimis praeterire, hac te in domo tam diu deversari non pudet? in qua, quamvis nihil sapias, tamen nihil tibi potest esse iucundum.

XXVIII. An tu, illa in vestibulo rostra cum adspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest. Quamvis enim sine mente, sine sensu sis, ut es, tamen et te et tua et tuos nosti. Nec vero te umquam neque vigilantem neque in somnis credo posse mente consistere. Necesse est, quamvis sis, ut es, violentus et furens, cum tibi obiecta sit species singularis viri, perterritum te de somno excitari, furere etiam saepe vigilantem. Me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum 69
atque tectorum. Quid enim umquam domus illa viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina? Fuit enim ille vir, patres conscripti, sicuti scitis, cum foris clarus tum domi admirandus, neque rebus externis magis laudandus quam institutis domesticis: huius in sedibus pro cubiculis stabula, pro conclavibus popinae sunt. Etsi iam negat. Nolite quaerere. Frugi factus est. Illam mimam suam suas res sibi habere iussit, ex duodecim tabulis clavis ademit, exegit. Quam porro spectatus civis, quam probatus! cuius ex omni vita nihil est honestius quam quod cum mima fecit divortium. At quam crebro usurpat, et consul et 70
Antonius! Hoc est dicere, et consul et impudicissimus, et consul et homo nequissimus. Quid est enim aliud Antonius? Nam si dignitas significaretur in nomine, dixisset, credo, aliquando avos tuus se et consulem et Antonium. Numquam dixit. Dixisset etiam collega meus, patruos tuus, nisi si tu es solus Antonius. Sed omitto ea peccata, quae non sunt earum partium propria, quibus tu rem publicam vexavisti: ad ipsas tuas partis redeo, id est ad civile bellum: quod natum, conflatum, susceptum opera tua est.

XXIX. Cui bello cum propter timiditatem tuam, tum 71
propter libidines defuisti. Gustaras civilem sanguinem vel potius exsorbueras; fueras in acie Pharsalica antesignanus; L. Domitium, clarissimum et nobilissimum virum, occideras; multosque praeterea qui e proelio effugerant, quos Caesar, ut non

nullos, fortasse servasset, crudelissime persecutus trucidaras. Quibus rebus tantis talibus gestis, quid fuit caussae cur in Africam Caesarem non sequerere, cum praesertim belli pars tanta restaret? Itaque quem locum apud ipsum Caesarem post eius ex Africa reditum obtinuisti? quo numero fuisti? Cuius tu imperatoris quaestor fueras, dictatoris magister equitum, belli princeps, crudelitatis auctor, praedae socius, testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius, appellatus es de pecunia,
72 quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas. Primo respondisti plane ferociter: et, ne omnia videar contra te, prope modum aequa et iusta dicebas. A me C. Caesar pecuniam? cur potius, quam ego ab illo? an sine me ille vicit? At ne potuit quidem. Ego ad illum belli civilis caussam attuli; ego leges perniciosas rogavi; ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios, arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli. Num sibi soli vicit? Quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum praeda communis? Ius postulabas: sed quid ad rem? Plus ille
73 poterat. Itaque excussis tuis vocibus et ad te et ad praedis tuos milites misit: cum repente a te praeclara illa tabula prolata est. Qui risus hominum! tantam esse tabulam, tam varias, tam multas possessiones, ex quibus praeter partem Miseni nihil erat quod is qui auctionaretur posset suum dicere. Auctionis vero miserabilis adspectus: vestis Pompei non multa eaque maculosa; eiusdem quaedam argentea vasa collisa; sordidata mancipia: ut doleremus quicquam esse
74 ex illis reliquiis, quod videre possemus. Hanc tamen auctionem heredes L. Rubri decreto Caesaris prohibuerunt. Haerebat nebulo: quo se verteret, non habebat. Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Caesaris percussor ab isto missus deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica. De quo Caesar in senatu aperte in te invehens questus est. Proficiscitur in Hispaniam

Caesar, paucis tibi ad solvendum propter inopiam tuam prorogatis diebus. Ne tum quidem sequeris. Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito? Hunc igitur quisquam, qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis, tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat?

XXX. Profectus est aliquando tandem in Hispaniam: 75
sed tuto, ut ait, pervenire non potuit. Quonam modo igitur Dolabella pervenit? Aut non suscipienda fuit ista caussa, Antoni, aut, cum suscepisses, defendenda usque ad extremum. Ter depugnavit Caesar cum civibus, in Thessalia, Africa, Hispania. Omnibus adfuit his pugnis Dolabella: in Hispaniensi etiam volnus accepit. Si de meo iudicio quaeris, nollem. Sed tamen consilium a primo reprehendendum, laudanda constantia. Tu vero quid es? Cn. Pompei liberi tum primum patriam repetebant. Esto: fuerit haec partium caussa communis. Repetebant praeterea deos patrios, aras, focos, larem suum familiarem; in quae tu invaseras. Haec cum peterent armis ei, quorum erant legibus—etsi in rebus iniquissimis quid potest esse aequi?—tamen quem erat aequissimum contra Cn. Pompei liberos pugnare? quem? Te, sectorem. An cum tu Narbone mensas hospitum con- 76
vomeres, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

Qui vero Narbone reditus? Etiam quaerebat, cur ego ex ipso cursu tam subito revertissem. Exposui nuper, patres conscripti, caussam reditus mei. Volui, si possem, etiam ante Kalendas Ianuarias prodesse rei publicae. Nam quod quaerebas, quo modo redissem: primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis, nec lacerna. At etiam adspicis me, et quidem, ut videris, iratus. Ne tu iam mecum in gratiam redeas, si scias quam me pudeat nequitiae tuae, cuius te ipsum non pudet. Ex omnium omnibus flagitiis nullum turpius vidi, nullum audivi. Qui magister equitum fuisse tibi viderere, in proximum annum consulatum

peteres, vel potius rogares, per municipia coloniasque Galliae,
a qua nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur, non rogabatur,
petere consulatum solebamus, cum Gallicis et lacerna cu-
curristi.

77 XXXI. At videte levitatem hominis. Cum hora diei
decima fere ad Saxa rubra venisset, delituit in quadam caupo-
nula atque ibi se occultans perpotavit ad vesperam; inde
cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus domum venit capite ob-
voluto. Ianitor, "Quis tu?" "A Marco tabellarius." Con-
festim ad eam, cuius caussa venerat; eique epistulam tradidit.
Quam cum illa legeret flens—erat enim scripta amatorie;
caput autem litterarum, sibi cum illa mima posthac nihil
futurum: omnem se amorem abiecisse illim atque in hanc
transfudisse—: cum mulier fleret uberius, homo misericors
ferre non potuit; caput aperuit; in collum invasit. O
hominem nequam! quid enim aliud dicam? magis proprie
nihil possum dicere: ergo, ut te, nec opinato cum te os-
tendisses, praeter spem mulier adspiceret, idcirco urbem
terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu pertur-
78 basti? Et domi quidem caussam amoris habuisti; foris
etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedis tuos venderet.
Productus autem in contionem a tribuno plebis, cum respon-
disses, te rei tuae caussa venisse, populum etiam dicacem in
te reddidisti. Sed nimis multa de nugis. Ad maiora veni-
amus.

XXXII. C. Caesari ex Hispania redeunti obviam lon-
gissime processisti. Celeriter isti redisti, ut cognosceret te,
si minus fortem, at tamen strenuom. Factus es ei rursus
nescio quo modo familiaris. Habebat hoc omnino Caesar:
quem plane perditum aere alieno egentemque, si eundem
nequam hominem audacemque cognorat, hunc in familiarita-
79 tem libentissime recipiebat. His igitur rebus praeclare com-
mendatus iussus es renuntiari consul et quidem cum ipso.

Nihil queror de Dolabella, qui tum est impulsus, inductus,
elusus. Qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in
Dolabellam, quis ignorat? Ille promissum et receptum in-
tervertit ad seque transtulit: tu eius perfidiae voluntatem
tuam adscripsisti. Veniunt Kalendae Ianuariae; cogimur
in senatum; invectus est copiosius multo in istum et paratius
Dolabella quam nunc ego. Hic autem iratus quae dixit, di 80
boni! Primum cum Caesar ostendisset se, prius quam pro-
ficisceretur, Dolabellam consulem esse iussurum—quem
negant regem, qui et faceret semper eius modi aliquid et
diceret—: sed cum Caesar ita dixisset; tum hic bonus augur
eo se sacerdotio praeditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel
impedire vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum esse asseveravit.
In quo primum incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognos-
cite. Quid enim? istud, quod te sacerdoti iure facere posse 81
dixisti, si augur non esses et consul esses, minus facere potu-
isses? Vide ne etiam facilius. Nos enim nuntiationem
solum habemus: consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spec-
tionem. Esto: hoc imperite; nec enim est ab homine num-
quam sobrio postulanda prudentia: sed videte impudentiam.
Multis ante mensibus in senatu dixit, se Dolabellae comitia
aut prohibiturum auspiciis, aut id facturum esse, quod fecit.
Quisquamne divinare potest, quid viti in auspiciis futurum
sit, nisi qui de caelo servare constituit? quod neque licet
comitiis per leges, et, si qui servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed
prius quam habeantur debet nuntiare. Verum implicata in-
scientia impudentia est; nec scit quod augurem, nec facit
quod pudentem decet. Itaque ex illo die recordamini eius 82
usque ad Idus Martias consulatum. Quis umquam apparitor
tam humilis, tam abiectus? Nihil ipse poterat; omnia roga-
bat; caput in aversam lecticam inserens, beneficia, quae
venderet, a collega petebat.

XXXIII. Ecce Dolabellae comitiorum dies; sortitio

praerogativae: quiescit. Renuntiatur: tacet. Prima classis vocatur; renuntiatur; deinde, ita ut adsolet, suffragia; tum secunda classis vocatur: quae omnia sunt citius facta, quam
83 dixi. Confecto negotio bonus augur—C. Laelium diceres—alio die inquit. O impudentiam singularem! Quid videras? quid senseras? quid audieras? neque enim te de caelo servasse dixisti, nec hodie dicis. Id igitur obvenit vitium, quod tu iam Kalendis Ianuariis futurum esse provideras, et tanto ante praedixeras. Ergo hercule magna, ut spero, tua potius quam rei publicae calamitate ementitus es auspicia; obstrinxisti religione populum Romanum; augur auguri, consul consuli obnuntiasti. Nolo plura, ne acta Dolabellae videar convellere: quae necesse est aliquando ad nostrum collegium
84 deferantur. Sed arrogantiam hominis insolentiamque cognoscite. Quam diu tu voles, vitiosus consul Dolabella: rursus, cum voles, salvis auspiciis creatus. Si nihil est, cum augur eis verbis nuntiat, quibus tu nuntiasti; confitere te, cum alio die dixeris, sobrium non fuisse: sin est aliqua vis in istis verbis, ea quae sit, augur a collega requiro.

XXXIV. Sed, ne forte ex multis rebus gestis Antoni rem unam pulcherrimam transiliat oratio, ad Lupercalia veniamus. Non dissimulat, patres conscripti: apparet esse commotum; sudat, pallet. Quidlibet, modo ne nauseet, faciat, quod in porticu Minucia fecit. Quae potest esse turpitudinis tantae defensio? Cupio audire: ut videam, ubi rhetoris sit
85 tanta merces, ubi campus Leontinus appareat. Sedebat in rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus. Escendis, accedis ad sellam—ita eras Lupercus, ut te consulem esse meminisse deberes—diadema ostendis. Gemitus toto foro. Unde diadema? non enim abiectum sustuleras, sed attuleras domo meditatum et cogitatum scelus. Tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi: ille cum plausu reiciebat. Tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es qui cum

auctor regni esses, eum, quem collegam habebas, dominum habere velles; idem temptares, quid populus Romanus ferre et pati posset. At etiam misericordiam captabas: supplex 86
te ad pedes abiciebas; quid petens? ut servires? Tibi uni peteres, qui ita a puero vixeras, ut omnia paterere, ut facile servires: a nobis populoque Romano mandatum id certe non habebas. O praeclaram illam eloquentiam tuam, cum es nudus contionatus! Quid hoc turpius? quid foedius? quid suppliciis omnibus dignius? Num exspectas, dum te stimulis fodiamus? haec te, si ullam partem habes sensus, lacerat, haec cruentat oratio. Vereor, ne imminuam summorum virorum gloriam. Dicam tamen dolore commotus. Quid indignius, quam vivere eum, qui imposuerit diadema, cum omnes fateantur iure interfectum esse, qui abiecerit? At etiam adscribi iussit in fastis ad Lupercalia, C. Caesari, 87
dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium, consulem, populi iussu regnum detulisse, Caesarem uti noluisse. Iam iam minime miror, te otium perturbare; non modo urbem odisse, sed etiam lucem; cum perditissimis latronibus non solum de die, sed etiam in diem vivere. Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post seculis a M. Antonio, quod fas non est, rex Romae constitueretur?

XXXV. Sed ad auspicia redeamus de quibus Idibus 88
Martiis fuit in senatu Caesar acturus. Quaero; tum tu quid egisses? Audiebam equidem te paratum venisse, quod me de ementitis auspiciis, quibus tamen parere necesse erat, putares esse dicturum. Sustulit illum diem Fortuna rei publicae. Num etiam tuum de auspiciis iudicium interitus Caesaris sustulit? Sed incidi in id tempus, quod eis rebus, in quas ingressa erat oratio, praevertendum est. Quae tua

fuga! quae formido praeclaro illo die! quae propter conscientiam scelerum desperatio vitae! cum ex illa fuga, beneficio eorum, qui te, si sanus esses, salvom esse voluerunt,
89 clam te domum recepisti. O mea frustra semper verissima auguria rerum futurarum! Dicebam illis in Capitolio liberatoribus nostris, cum me ad te ire vellent, ut ad defendendam rem publicam te adhortarer: quoad metueres, omnia te promissurum; simul ac timere desisses, similem te futurum tui. Itaque, cum ceteri consulares irent redirent, in sententia mansi: neque te illo die, neque postero vidi; neque ullam societatem optimis civibus cum importunissimo hoste foedere ullo confirmari posse credidi. Post diem tertium veni in aedem Telluris, et quidem invitus, cum omnis aditus armati
90 obsiderent. Qui tibi dies ille, Antoni, fuit! Quamquam mihi inimicus subito exstitisti, tamen me tui miseret, quod tibi invideris.

XXXVI. Qui tu vir, di immortales! et quantus fuisses, si illius diei mentem servare potuisses! Pacem haberemus, quae erat facta per obsidem puerum nobilem, M. Bambalionis nepotem. Quamquam bonum te timor faciebat, non diuturnus magister offici: improbum fecit ea, quae, dum timor abest, a te non discedit, audacia. Etsi tum, cum optimum te putabant, me quidem dissentiente, funeri tyranni, si illud
91 funus fuit, sceleratissime praefuisti. Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio: tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti et eas, quibus semustulatus ille est, et eas, quibus incensa L. Bellieni domus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque reppulimus, in nostras domos immisisti. Idem tamen, quasi fuligine abstersa, reliquis diebus in Capitolio praeclara senatus consulta fecisti, ne qua post Idus Martias immunitatis tabula neve cuius benefici figeretur. Meministi ipse de exsulibus: scis, de immunitate quid dixeris. Optimum

vero, quod dictaturae nomen in perpetuom de re publica sustulisti. Quo quidem facto tantum te cepisse odium regni videbatur, ut eius omne nomen propter proximum dictatoris metum tolleres. Constituta res publica videbatur aliis, 92
mihi vero nullo modo, qui omnia te gubernante naufragia metuebam. Num me igitur fefellit? aut num diutius sui potuit dissimilis esse? Inspectantibus vobis toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur; neque solum singulis venibant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis; civitas non iam singillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur. Itaque si haec manent, quae stante re publica manere non possunt, provincias universas, patres conscripti, perdidistis; neque vectigalia solum, sed etiam imperium populi Romani huius domesticis nundinis deminutum est.

XXXVII. Ubi est septiens miliens, quod est in tabulis, 93
quae sunt ad Opis? funestae illius quidem pecuniae, sed tamen, quae nos, si eis, quorum erat, non redderetur, a tributis posset vindicare. Tu autem quadringentiens sestertium, quod Idibus Martiis debuisti, quonam modo ante Kalendas Aprilis debere desisti? Sunt ea quidem innumerabilia, quae a tuis emebantur non insciente te: sed unum egregium de rege Deiotaro, populi Romani amicissimo, decretum in Capitolio fixum: quo proposito nemo erat, qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere. Quis enim cui- 94
quam inimicior, quam Deiotaro Caesar? aeque atque huic ordini, ut equestri, ut Massiliensibus, ut omnibus, quibus rem publicam populi Romani caram esse sentiebat. Igitur a quo vivo nec praesens nec absens quicquam aequi boni impetravit, apud mortuom factus est gratiosus. Compellarat hospitem praesens, computarat, pecuniam impetrarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis collocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam. Haec vivos eripuit: reddit mortuos. At quibus verbis? modo aequom sibi videri, 95

modo non iniquom. Mira verborum complexio! At ille numquam—semper enim absenti adfui Deiotaro—quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, aequom dixit videri. Syngrapha sesterti centiens per legatos, viros bonos, sed timidos et imperitos, sine nostra, sine reliquorum hospitum regis sententia facta in gynaeceo est: quo in loco plurimae res venierunt et veneunt. Qua ex syngrapha quid sis acturus, meditere censeo. Rex enim ipse sua sponte, nullis commentariis Caesaris, simul atque audivit eius interitum, suo
96 Marte res suas recuperavit. Sciebat homo sapiens ius semper hoc fuisse, ut, quae tyranni eripuissent, ea, tyrannis interfectis, ei, quibus erepta essent, recuperarent. Nemo igitur iure consultus, ne iste quidem, qui tibi uni est iure consultus, per quem haec agis, ex ista syngrapha deberi dicit pro eis rebus, quae erant ante syngrapham recuperatae. Non enim a te emit, sed prius, quam tu suum sibi venderes, ipse possedit. Ille vir fuit: nos quidem contemnendi, qui auctorem odimus, acta defendimus.

97 XXXVIII. Quid ego de commentariis infinitis, quid de innumerabilibus chirographis loquar? quorum etiam imitatores sunt, qui ea tamquam gladiatorum libellos palam venditent. Itaque tanti acervi nummorum apud istum construuntur, ut iam expendantur, non numerentur pecuniae. At quam caeca avaritia est! Nuper fixa tabula est, qua civitates locupletissimae Cretensium liberantur, statuiturque ne post M. Brutum pro consule sit Creta provincia. Tu mentis es compos? tu non constringendus? An Caesaris decreto Creta post M. Bruti decessum potuit liberari, cum Creta nihil ad Brutum, Caesare vivo, pertineret? At huius venditione decreti, ne nihil actum putetis, provinciam Cretam perdidistis. Omnino nemo ullius rei fuit emptor, cui defuerit
98 hic venditor. Et de exsulibus legem, quam fixisti, Caesar tulit? Nullius insector calamitatem: tantum queror: primum

eorum reditus inquinatos, quorum caussam Caesar dissimilem iudicarit; deinde nescio cur non reliquis idem tribuas. Neque enim plus quam tres aut quattuor reliqui sunt. Qui simili in calamitate sunt, cur tua misericordia non simili fruuntur? cur eos habes in loco patrui? de quo ferre, cum de reliquis ferres, noluisti: quem etiam ad censuram petendam impulisti, eamque petitionem comparasti, quae et risus hominum et querellas moveret. Cur autem ea comitia non 99
habuisti? an quia tribunus plebis sinistrum fulmen nuntiabat? Cum tua quid interest, nulla auspicia sunt; cum tuorum, tum fis religiosus. Quid? eundem in septemviratu nonne destituisti? Intervenit enim, cui metuisti, credo, ne salvo capite negare non posses. Omnibus eum contumeliis onerasti, quem patris loco, si ulla in te pietas esset, colere debebas. Filiam eius, sororem tuam, eiecisti, alia condicione quaesita et ante perspecta. Non est satis. Probri insimulasti pudicissimam feminam. Quid est, quod addi possit? Contentus eo non fuisti. Frequentissimo senatu Kalendis Ianuariis sedente patruo, hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella caussam odi dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori tuae stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Quis interpretari potest, impudentiorne, qui in senatu, an improbior, qui in Dolabellam, an impurior, qui patruo audiente, an crudelior, qui in illam miseram tam spurce, tam impie dixeris?

XXXIX. Sed ad chirographa redeamus. Quae tua fuit 100
cognitio? Acta enim Caesaris pacis caussa confirmata sunt a senatu, quae quidem Caesar egisset, non ea, quae egisse Caesarem dixisset Antonius. Unde ista erumpunt? quo auctore proferuntur? si sunt falsa, cur probantur? si vera, cur veneunt? At sic placuerat, ut Kalendis Iuniis de Caesaris actis cum consilio cognosceretis. Quod fuit consilium? quem umquam convocasti? quas Kalendas Iunias exspectasti? an eas, ad quas te peragratis veteranorum coloniis stipatum armis rettulisti?

O praeclaram illam percursationem tuam mense Aprili atque Maio, tum cum etiam Capuam coloniam deducere conatus es! Quem ad modum illinc abieris vel potius
101 paene non abieris, scimus. Cui tu urbi minitaris. Utinam conere, ut aliquando illud paene tollatur! At quam nobilis est tua illa peregrinatio! quid prandiorum apparatus, quid furiosam vinolentiam tuam proferam? Tua ista detrimenta sunt: illa nostra. Agrum Campanum, qui cum de vectigalibus eximebatur ut militibus daretur, tamen infligi magnum rei publicae volnus putabamus: hunc tu compransoribus tuis et collusoribus dividebas. Mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in agro Campano collocatos. Quid iam querar de agro Leontino? Quoniam quidem hae quondam arationes Campana et Leontina in populi Romani patrimonio grandiferae et fructuosae ferebantur. Medico tria millia iugerum: quid, si te sanasset? rhetori duo: quid, si te disertum facere potuisset? Sed ad iter Italiamque redeamus.

102 XL. Deduxisti coloniam Casilinum, quo Caesar ante deduxerat. Consuluisti me per litteras de Capua tu quidem; sed idem de Casilino respondissem: possesne, ubi colonia esset, eo coloniam novam iure deducere. Negavi in eam coloniam, quae esset auspicato deducta, dum esset incolumis, coloniam novam iure deduci: colonos novos adscribi posse rescripsi. Tu autem insolentia elatus omni auspiciorum iure turbato, Casilinum coloniam deduxisti, quo erat paucis annis ante deducta, ut vexillum tolleres, ut aratrum circumduceres: cuius quidem vomere portam Capuae paene perstrinxisti, ut florentis coloniae territorium minue-
103 retur. Ab hac perturbatione religionum advolas in M. Varronis, sanctissimi atque integerrimi viri, fundum Casinatem. Quo iure? quo ore? Eodem, inquies, quo in heredum L. Rubri, quo in heredum L. Turseli praedia, quo

in reliquas innumerabilis possessiones. Et si ab hasta, valeat hasta, valeant tabulae, modo Caesaris, non tuae: quibus debuisti, non quibus tu te liberavisti. Varronis quidem Casinatem fundum quis venisse dicit? quis hastam istius venditionis vidit? quis vocem praeconis audivit? Misisse te dicis Alexandream, qui emeret a Caesare. Ipsum enim exspectare magnum fuit! Quis vero audivit umquam— 104
nullius autem salus curae pluribus fuit—de fortunis Varronis rem ullam esse detractam? Quid? si etiam scripsit ad te Caesar, ut redderes, quid satis potest dici de tanta impudentia? Remove gladios parumper illos, quos videmus. Iam intelleges aliam caussam esse hastae Caesaris, aliam confidentiae et temeritatis tuae. Non enim te dominus modo illis sedibus, sed quivis amicus, vicinus, hospes, procurator arcebit.

XLI. At quam multos dies in ea villa turpissime est perbacchatus! Ab hora tertia bibebatur, ludebatur, vomebatur. O tecta ipsa misera quam dispari domino! Quamquam quo modo iste dominus? sed tamen quam ab dispari tenebantur! Studiorum enim suorum M. Varro voluit illud, non libidinum deversorium. Quae in illa 105
villa antea dicebantur! quae cogitabantur! quae litteris mandabantur! Iura populi Romani, monumenta maiorum, omnis sapientiae ratio omnisque doctrinae. At vero te inquilino—non enim domino—personabant omnia vocibus ebriorum; natabant pavimenta vino; madebant parietes. Casino salutatum veniebant, Aquino, Interamna. Admissus est nemo. Iure id quidem: in homine enim turpissimo obsolefiebant dignitatis insignia. Cum inde Romam proficiscens 106
ad Aquinum accederet, obviam ei processit, ut est frequens municipium, magna sane multitudo. At iste operta lectica latus per oppidum est ut mortuos. Stulte Aquinates: sed tamen in via habitabant. Quid Anagnini? qui, cum essent

devii, descenderunt, ut istum, tamquam si esset, consulem salutarent. Incredibile dictu est, tamen vicinos inter omnis constabat neminem esse resalutatum: praesertim cum duos secum Anagninos haberet, Mustelam et Laconem; quorum
107 alter gladiorum est princeps, alter poculorum. Quid ego illas istius minas contumeliasque commemorem, quibus invectus est in Sidicinos, vexavit Puteolanos, quod C. Cassium et Brutos patronos adoptassent? Magno quidem studio, iudicio, benevolentia, caritate, non, ut te et Basilum, vi et armis, et alios vestri similis, quos clientis nemo habere velit, non modo illorum cliens esse.

XLII. Interea dum tu abes, qui dies ille collegae tui fuit, cum illud, quod venerari solebas, bustum in foro evertit! qua re tibi nuntiata, ut constabat inter eos, qui una fuerunt, concidisti. Quid evenerit postea, nescio—metum credo valuisse et arma—collegam quidem de caelo detraxisti effecistique, non tu quidem etiam nunc, ut similis tui, sed
108 certe ut dissimilis esset sui. Qui vero inde reditus Romam! quae perturbatio totius urbis! Memineramus Cinnam nimis potentem, Sullam postea dominantem; modo regnantem Caesarem videramus. Erant fortasse gladii, sed absconditi nec ita multi. Ista vero quae et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis secuntur: scutorum lecticas portari videmus. Atque his quidem iam inveteratis, patres conscripti, consuetudine obduruimus. Kalendis Iuniis cum in senatum, ut erat constitutum, venire vellemus, metu per-
109 territi repente diffugimus. At iste, qui senatu non egeret, neque desideravit quemquam, sed potius discessu nostro laetatus est, statimque illa mirabilia facinora effecit. Qui chirographa Caesaris defendisset lucri sui caussa, is leges Caesaris easque praeclaras, ut rem publicam concutere posset, evertit. Numerum annorum provinciis prorogavit: idemque, cum actorum Caesaris defensor esse deberet, et in

publicis et in privatis rebus acta Caesaris rescidit. In publicis nihil est lege gravius: in privatis firmissimum est testamentum. Leges alias sine promulgatione sustulit: alias ut tolleret, promulgavit. Testamentum irritum fecit: quod etiam infimis civibus semper obtentum est. Signa, tabulas, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, eas hic partim in hortos Pompei deportavit, partim in villam Scipionis.

XLIII. Et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens? tu illum 110
amas mortuom? Quem is honorem maiorem consecutus erat, quam ut haberet pulvinar, simulacrum, fastigium, flaminem? Est ergo flamen, ut Iovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Iulio M. Antonius. Quid igitur cessas? cur non inauguraris? sume diem: vide, qui te inauguret; collegae sumus; nemo negabit. O detestabilem hominem, sive quod tyranni sacerdos es, sive quod mortui! Quaero deinceps, num hodiernus dies qui sit ignores? nescis heri quartum in Circo diem ludorum Romanorum fuisse? te autem ipsum ad populum tulisse ut quintus praeterea dies Caesari tribueretur? Cur non sumus praetextati? Cur honorem Caesaris tua lege datum deseri patimur? an supplicationes addendo diem contaminari passus es; pulvinaria noluisti? Aut undique religionem tolle aut usque quaque conserva. Quaeris, placeatne mihi pulvinar esse, fastigium, 111
flaminem. Mihi vero nihil istorum placet. Sed tu, qui acta Caesaris defendis, quid potes dicere cur alia defendas, alia non cures? Nisi forte vis fateri te omnia quaestu tuo, non illius dignitate metiri. Quid ad haec tandem?—exspecto enim eloquentiam tuam: disertissimum cognovi avom tuum, at te etiam apertiorem in dicendo; ille numquam nudus est contionatus, tuum hominis simplicis pectus vidimus—: respondebisne ad haec aut omnino hiscere audebis? Ecquid reperies ex tam longa oratione mea, cui te respondere posse confidas?

112 XLIV. Sed praeterita omittamus. Hunc unum diem, unum, inquam, hodiernum diem, hoc punctum temporis, quo loquor, defende, si potes. Cur armatorum corona senatus saeptus est? cur me tui satellites cum gladiis audiunt? cur valvae Concordiae non patent? cur homines omnium gentium maxime barbaros, Ityraeos, cum sagittis deducis in forum? Praesidi sui caussa se facere dicit. Non igitur miliens perire est melius quam in sua civitate sine armatorum praesidio non posse vivere? Sed nullum est istud, mihi crede, praesidium. Caritate te et benevolentia
113 civium saeptum oportet esse, non armis. Eripiet et extorquebit tibi ista populus Romanus, utinam salvis nobis! Sed quoquo modo nobiscum egeris, dum istis consiliis uteris, non potes, mihi crede, esse diuturnus. Etenim ista tua minime avara coniunx, quam ego sine contumelia describo, nimium diu debet populo Romano tertiam pensionem. Habet populus Romanus ad quos gubernacula rei publicae deferat: qui ubicumque terrarum sunt, ibi omne est rei publicae praesidium vel potius ipsa res publica, quae se adhuc tantum modo ulta est, nondum recuperavit. Habet quidem certe res publica adulescentis nobilissimos, paratos defensores. Quam volent illi cedant otio consulentes, tamen a re publica revocabuntur. Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris. Sed inter pacem et servitutem plurimum interest. Pax est tranquilla libertas, servitus postremum malorum omnium, non modo bello, sed morte etiam repellendum.
114 Quod si se ipsos illi nostri liberatores e conspectu nostro abstulerunt, at exemplum facti reliquerunt. Illi, quod nemo fecerat, fecerunt. Tarquinium Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae regem licebat. Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni appetendi sunt necati. Hi primum cum gladiis non in regnum appetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt.

Quod cum ipsum factum per se praeclarum est atque divinum, tum expositum ad imitandum est; praesertim cum illi eam gloriam consecuti sint, quae vix caelo capi posse videatur. Etsi enim satis in ipsa conscientia pulcherrimi facti fructus erat, tamen mortali immortalitatem non arbitror esse contemnendam.

XLV. Recordare igitur illum, M. Antoni, diem, quo 115
dictaturam sustulisti; pone ante oculos laetitiam senatus populique Romani; confer cum hac immani nundinatione tua tuorumque: tum intelleges, quantum inter lucrum et laudem intersit. Sed nimirum, ut quidam morbo aliquo et sensus stupore suavitatem cibi non sentiunt, sic libidinosi, avari, facinorosi verae laudis gustatum non habent. Sed si te laus allicere ad recte faciendum non potest, ne metus quidem a foedissimis factis potest avocare? Iudicia non metuis. Si propter innocentiam, laudo: sin propter vim, non intellegis, qui isto modo iudicia non timeat, ei quid timendum sit? Quod si non metuis viros fortis egregiosque 116
civis, quod a corpore tuo prohibentur armis; tui te, mihi crede, diutius non ferent. Quae est autem vita dies et noctis timere a suis? Nisi vero aut maioribus habes beneficiis obligatos, quam ille quosdam habuit ex eis, a quibus est interfectus; aut tu es ulla re cum eo comparandus. Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, litterae, cura, cogitatio, diligentia; res bello gesserat quamvis rei publicae calamitosas, at tamen magnas; multos annos regnare meditatus magno labore multis periculis quod cogitarat effecerat; muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, epulis multitudinem imperitam delenierat: suos praemiis, adversarios clementiae specie devinxerat. Quid multa? attulerat iam liberae civitati partim metu, partim patientia consuetudinem serviendi.

XLVI. Cum illo ego te dominandi cupiditate conferre 117
possum, ceteris vero rebus nullo modo comparandus es.

Sed ex plurimis malis, quae ab illo rei publicae sunt inusta, hoc tamen boni est, quod didicit iam populus Romanus, quantum cuique crederet, quibus se committeret, a quibus caveret. Haec non cogitas? neque intellegis satis esse viris fortibus didicisse, quam sit re pulchrum, beneficio gratum, fama gloriosum tyrannum occidere? An, cum illum
118 homines non tulerint, te ferent? Certatim posthac, mihi crede, ad hoc opus curretur neque occasionis tarditas exspectabitur.

Respice, quaeso, aliquando rem publicam, M. Antoni: quibus ortus sis, non quibuscum vivas, considera: mecum, uti voles; redi cum re publica in gratiam. Sed de te tu videris: ego de me ipse profitebor. Defendi rem publicam adulescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos. Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest; ut aliquando dolor populi Romani pariat, quod iam diu par-
119 turit! Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni! Mihi vero, patres conscripti, iam etiam optanda mors est, perfuncto rebus eis, quas adeptus sum quasque gessi. Duo modo haec opto: unum, ut moriens populum Romanum liberum relinquam—hoc mihi maius ab dis immortalibus dari nihil potest—: alterum, ut ita cuique eveniat, ut de re publica quisque mereatur.

NOTES.

§ 1.

p. 1. 1 *patres conscripti*] a traditional method of addressing the senate, the origin of which has been much disputed. The most reasonable view seems to be that of Willems (Sénat de la République Romaine I. 37—42), that the words mean 'enrolled patricians', that is, patricians whose names were entered on the senatorial register, as opposed to other patricians who were not members of the senate. Plebeians were probably not admitted to the senate till about 400 B.C.

2 *his annis viginti*] ablative of time in the course of which something happens;. R. § 1182: in Greek the genitive would be used, εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν Cicero, reckoning from the beginning of his consulship in 63, is thinking chiefly of Catiline and his fellow conspirators whose rising he ha l suppressed in that year, of P. Clodius the turbulent tribune slain in a riot on the Appian road 18 Jan. 52, and no doubt of Caesar himself: cp. Cat. IV. 22, Sull. 28.

5 *optarem*] stronger than *vellem*: *opto* is often used of extravagant or visionary desires; it is contrasted with *spero* in Fam. V. 8 § 2 *sed exstitit tempus optatum mihi magis quam speratum*; Balb. § 9; and in many other passages.

6 *imitere*] notice that Cicero prefers this form of the 2nd person in the present subjunctive and in the imperfect indicative and subjunctive. Instances are numerous in this speech.

exitus] Catiline was killed in battle B.C. 62, when the force sent against him was commanded by M. Antony's uncle, the consul C. Antonius; his fellow conspirators Lentulus, Cethegus, Gabinius, Statilius were executed; P. Clodius was killed in a fracas; and lastly Julius Caesar was assassinated 15 March 44.

7 *atque*] almost = *atqui* 'and yet'.

in aliis] 'in the case of others': *aliis* must not be translated '*the* others', though that is practically what Cicero means.

8 *inimicus*] mark the usual distinction between *inimicus* the enemy of an individual and *hostis* (as above, *rei publicae hostis*) the enemy of a state: cp. below § 2 *hostem patriae...mihi inimicus.*

voluntarius] beware of translating 'no one was my voluntary enemy': the meaning is 'no one was my enemy of my own free will'.

10 *furiosior*] 'more frenzied'. Cicero frequently applies the words *furor, furiosus, furia,* to Clodius, and Plutarch speaks of his μανία; he was no doubt a man of fierce and ungovernable passions.

ultro] 'unprovoked'; this refers to Antony's speech on 19 Sept., cp. Phil. v. 19: in the first Philippic Cicero had spoken guardedly and deprecated all intention of offending Antony.

12 *ad*] 'in the sight of': Att. VIII. 4 § 1 *quae etiam ad ceteros contempti cuiusdam hominis commendatio defuit?*

§ 2.

14 *mediocritate*] said with a touch of Cicero's usual mock humility.

17 *testimonium*] a *supplicatio* or public thanksgiving was decreed to Cicero in 63 on the motion of L. Aurelius Cotta in highly flattering terms *quod urbem incendiis, caede civis, Italiam bello liberassem, quae supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest, quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est.* Cat. III. 15: cp. Cat. IV. 20, Phil. II. 13, XIV. 24, Pis. 6 *mihi togato senatus non, ut multis, bene gestae sed, ut nemini, conservatae rei publicae singulari genere supplicationis deorum immortalium templa patefecit.* He was the first *togatus* who had ever enjoyed the honour of a *supplicatio*, cp. note on § 13, l. 9.

multis] observe the emphasis given to this word by its position, and the strong contrast which it thus affords to *mihi uni.*

18 *contentione dicendi*] 'an oratorical combat', 'a contest of rhetoric'; cp. Plin. Ep. I. 2.

19 *quid...uberius*] 'what more copious, what more fertile theme'.

21 *illud profecto*] 'the following of course was his reason' (for attacking me): *illud* does not refer to anything going before, but anticipates the following sentence *non existimavit* &c.; with it must be mentally supplied *cogitavit* or the like; cp. Tusc. IV. 47 *reperiam fortasse, sed illud ante* (sc. *dicam*).

§ 3.

p. 2. 2 *amicitia*] Antony seems to have been determined to break with Cicero, who in his first speech had been careful to express his friendship for Antony, cp. Phil. I. 11 *cui sum amicus, idque me non nullo eius officio debere esse prae me semper tuli*, and see the friendly letter of Cicero to Antony in Att. XIV. 13 B where in the words *beneficio provocatus* he no doubt refers to the same service rendered him by Antony that is hinted at in the above quoted words *non nullo eius officio*: see below § 5. It is worth remembering that Cicero had written his Laelius or treatise on friendship during the summer of this year.

5 *contra rem suam*] the commentators say that this was some business connected with Sicca, who is often mentioned in Cicero's correspondence; cp. Att. XVI. 11 written in November 44 where there is a reference to this speech. What the affair was is not known, and the words *nescio quando* 'on some occasion or other' show that it was unimportant.

6 *alienum*] one unconnected with me, 'a stranger'; beware of translating it 'alien'.

8 *collectam*] 'won', 'acquired': a common use of *colligere.*

iste] notice once for all that Cicero often addresses Antony directly as *tu*, and at other times speaks of him indirectly as *iste* and once or twice as *hic*: contrast this sentence with the next. This must be borne in mind throughout the speech.

9 *obtinuit*] 'maintained'. Cicero means that Antony was enabled by some iniquitous intervention on his behalf to maintain the wrong, whatever it was, that he had committed. *intercessio* was the regular term for the 'intervention' of a tribune; whether such tribunicial intervention is here meant must remain doubtful, owing to our ignorance of the facts of the case: at any rate Antony was not upheld in his wrong dealing by the *ius praetorium*, i.e. the law as embodied in the praetor's edicts. Each praetor laid down general rules of law which were called *edicta*, and which gradually came to form a valuable addition to the civil law of Rome. The expression implies that this was a private suit as the office of the praetor was *ius inter civis dicere.* [HM.'s statement that a tribune had no right to meddle with a private suit is wrong. The case of Quinctius for instance was private, but a tribune interfered, and such interference often took place. J.S.R.]

12 *Q. Fadi*] Q. Fadius Gallus (in Att. XVI. 11 § 1 read *Galli Fadi*) whose daughter Fadia was Antony's first wife; Phil. XIII. 23.

13 *fuisse*] "not *esse*, because according to Roman notions the death of Fadius had dissolved the tie. Cic. Sest. 6 *ademit Albino soceri nomen mors filiae*, Cluent. 41". HM.

at enim...tradideras] 'but, to be sure, you had placed yourself under my instruction': we do not know what ground there was for this assertion of Antony; Cicero denies the truth of it. [Possibly there is an allusion to the 'school' of rhetoric which Cicero jocularly says he had opened (Fam. IX. 18 § 1), which was attended by Hirtius and Dolabella among others (Fam. IX. 16 § 7) and may have been attended by Antony. J.S.R.] *at enim* is an elliptical expression: *at* introduces Antony's second objection, and *enim* gives the reason for it: cp. ἀλλὰ γάρ.

14 *ne*] this particle of asseveration (connected with *vai*) is used by Cicero only with personal pronouns or their cognate adverbs and adjectives.

16 *si cuperes*] more regularly *si cupisses*; 'if you wished' instead of 'if you had wished': cp. Att. VII. 13 b § 3 *si scriberem ipse, longior epistula fuisset*; XVI. 5 § 2 *Quintus fuit mecum dies compluris, et, si ego cuperem, ille vel pluris fuisset*; other instances in Draeger Hist. Synt. § 550 b β. It is possible that Cicero intentionally avoided the pluperfect subjunctive of *cupio*, he has it only once in his speeches, Mil. 21, though other parts of the verb are frequent, and Caesar and his continuators never have it.

C. Curionem] the well-known tribune who, at first an adherent of Pompey and the *optimates*, afterwards espoused the cause of Caesar. He died bravely fighting near Utica in Africa in 49. He exercised a pernicious influence over Antony, cp. § 45.

§ 4.

17 *auguratus*] Cicero was elected augur in the summer of 53 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of P. Crassus (not M. Crassus as HM. say, cp. Plut. Crass. 36) in the Parthian war. By the Domitian law of 104 (?) B.C., which had been re-enacted in 63 after its abrogation by Sulla in 81, the election of augur rested with a minority of the tribes (17 out of 35 chosen by lot). The candidates were first nominated by the members of the augural college, each member being allowed to nominate one candidate, but no candidate could be nominated by more than two members—in Cicero's case the nominators were Cn. Pompeius and

Q. Hortensius—and one was then elected by the votes of the tribes. After this followed the inauguration. MM. II. 27 foll.

concessisse] this implies that Antony had, according to his own account, retired in favour of Cicero.

21 *solvendo eras*] in *solvendo esse* 'to be (suited) for paying' i.e. 'to be solvent' the dative is classed by Roby under the head of 'datives of work contemplated', R. §§ 1156, 1382 b. Cp. such phrases as *esse esui* 'to be (fit) for eating'.

22 *incolumem*] Sest. 18 *eamque* (*provinciam*) *nisi adeptus esset se incolumem nullo modo fore arbitrabatur*, where *incolumis* is similarly used of a person who has not been injured by an adverse verdict in a court of law; cp. Planc. 12 *incolumem a calamitate iudici*.

23 *eo tempore*] 'at that time' i.e. when I was elected. Beware of taking *eo tempore cum* together, as if it were 'at the time when Curio was not in Italy': if *cum* had been strictly temporal, *erat* would have been used instead of *esset*: *cum* here is 'since', 'considering that'.

24 *cum es factus*] Antony was elected augur in 50 in place of Hortensius who died in April or May of that year.

25 *potuisses*] this is an apodosis to a protasis implied in the words *sine Curione* which are virtually equivalent to *si Curio afuisset*.

de vi] apparently some followers of Curio were charged with rioting at the election.

§ 5.

27 *beneficio*] cp. note on § 3, l. 2.

28 *malui*] 'I preferred to confess myself under an obligation to you rather than to be thought not sufficiently grateful by anyone not quite acquainted with the circumstances' (*minus prudenti*). He means 'I was not really bound to be so grateful, but for the sake of appearances I felt it right to profess gratitude'. Of course *prudenti* is the dative after *videri*, not after *gratus*.

30 *Brundisii*] after the battle of Pharsalus, 9 Aug. 48, Cicero returned from Epirus to Brundisium, whereas most of Pompey's adherents fled to Africa. Here Antony showed him a letter from Caesar forbidding any of the Pompeians to return to Italy without his consent. Cicero replied that in his case such permission had already been granted by Caesar through Cicero's son-in-law Dolabella. On hearing this Antony issued an edict specially excepting Cicero and Laelius. Cicero adds, that he would rather Antony had tacitly excepted him without thus

bringing his name into prominence. Att. XI. 7 § 2. [*Brundisii* being locative should probably be thus spelt, not *Brundisi*. This very word occurs in Ennius, who does not use the genitive in *-ii*. J.S.R.]

32 *ex latronibus suis*] 'out of all his banditti'. Caesar had entrusted the care of Italy to Antony, and on his assumption of the dictatorship had made him his *magister equitum*. Appian B. C. II. 41, Plut. Ant. 6.

33 *occideres*] see note on § 16 l. 22.

p. 3. 3 *quod si*] the argument is: if it were so great a benefit to refrain from killing a person, Caesar's murderers would never have gained such credit for their deed, for they would have killed one who had conferred a benefit on them, and would therefore have been guilty of the basest ingratitude. Caesar had shown great consideration to some of those who had fought against him; cp. Fam. VI. 6 § 10 *at nos quem ad modum est complexus! Cassium sibi legavit; Brutum Galliae praefecit, Sulpicium Graeciae; Marcellum, cui maxime suscensebat, cum summa illius dignitate restituit.*

6 *te abstinueris*] *se abstinere* 'to keep oneself from' a thing, is the usual construction in early Latin and maintains its ground in Cicero, though he occasionally (cp. § 6) uses *abstinere* in sense of *se abstinere*, like our 'abstain', which became the common construction in the Augustan period. The French retain the pronoun, *s'abstenir*, and so in older English, e.g. 'ech man that stryveth in fyght, absteyneth him fro alle thingis' Wyclif 1 Cor. ix. 25 (A.D. 1382); 'Wryte unto them that they absteyne them selves from fylthynesse of Idols' Coverdale Acts xv. 20 (A.D. 1535).

§ 6.

11 *queri non debui*] 'ought I not to complain': almost = 'was it my duty not to complain'. Notice that 'ought' being strictly a past tense represents *debui*, but as in modern English 'ought' is regarded as a present tense one had better translate 'ought I not to have complained'.

12 *querella*] the first Philippic.

13 *gradu*] the position of an ex-consul, and one of the leaders and spokesmen of the *optimates*.

16 *quod*] = *et illud*, and anticipates the following acc. and inf. clause *querentem abstinere*: 'why, what self-restraint did it argue'.

M. Antonio] said with emphasis: 'complaining of such a person as M. Antony': cp. 11 *non placet M. Antonio consulatus meus.*

17 *reliquias*] HM. explains this of the treasure accumulated by Caesar and deposited in the temple of Ops which was plundered by Antony: an explanation gathered from the context and the use of the word *dissipare*, cp. V. 11 *illa vero dissipatio pecuniae publicae*, VI. 3 *pecunia publica dissipata atque effusa*. On the other hand it seems improbable that Cicero should have called this treasure *reliquiae rei publicae*, and the meaning is more likely to be that the hopes of a restoration of the republic excited by the death of Caesar were quickly extinguished by the despotic acts of Antony: "and that too when you had scattered to the winds the last relics of the republic". [So too Dr Reid who translates 'the last traces of free government' and cp. Cic. off. II. 29 *rem publicam penitus amisimus*, I. 35 *rem publicam quae nunc nulla est*, II. 3.]

18 *mercatu*] refers to the venality practised by Antony in pretended compliance with Caesar's will, which was opened and read in Antony's house: Suet. Caes. 83 *testamentum eius aperitur recitaturque in Antonii domo.* The Philippics teem with references to Antony's greed and venality.

19 *promulgatae*] by the lex Caecilia Didia of 98 and the Licinia Iunia of 62 it was enacted that every law should be promulgated three weeks, *trinis nundinis*, before it was voted on, in order that the people might make themselves acquainted with its contents. This Antony had neglected to do: cp. Phil. V. 8 *ubi lex Caecilia et Didia? ubi promulgatio trinum nundinum? ubi poena recenti lege Iunia et Licinia? possuntne hae leges esse ratae sine interitu legum reliquarum?* I. 25 *illae enim* (*leges*) *sine ulla promulgatione latae sunt ante quam scriptae.*

20 *confiterere*] 'allowed', i.e. when charged with it you did not deny it.

auspicia augur] notice the emphatic juxtaposition of these two words, and of *intercessionem consul*: an augur should have been the last person in the world to disregard the auspices, and a consul was above all others bound, as chief magistrate, to respect the right of intercession. Antony though augur set at nought the auspices on more than one occasion; cp. Phil. V. 7, 8 and 10 where Cicero sums up *quibus de caussis eas leges quas M. Antonius tulisse dicitur, omnis censeo per vim et contra auspicia latas eisque legibus populum non teneri*: and see notes on § 80 foll. For his disregard of the tribunicial right of intercession cp. Phil. I. 25, where Antony is represented as saying *neglegimus ista* (tribunicial rights and other customs) *et nimis antiqua ac stulta ducimus.*

23 *vino lustrisque confectus*] 'worn out by drunkenness and debauchery'.

§ 7.

24 *M. Crasso*] for the ill will between Crassus and Cicero cp. Plut. Crass. 13. Cicero regarded him as implicated in the conspiracy of Catiline, though Crassus appears to have given Cicero a friendly warning one night of the designs of the conspirators. The young P. Crassus was however a firm friend of Cicero. Crassus generously spoke in favour of Cicero's consulship, Att. I. 14 *qui mihi laudem illam eo minus deberet quod meis omnibus litteris in Pompeiana laude perstrictus esset.* He is referred to in Att. I. 16 § 5 in the words *Calvum ex Nanneianis* &c. as bribing the judges in the trial of Milo. He inflamed Caesar against Cicero, Fam. I. 9 § 9; cp. Off. I. 109, Sest. 39, Fam. XIV. 2, Q. Fr. II. 3 §§ 3, 4. "Crassus was never hindered by any keen sense of honour from pursuing his own advantage. He was a merchant and was open to negotiation", Momms. IV. 344.

25 *uno*] used to strengthen the superlative *nequissimo*: cp. Planc. 97 *urbem unam mihi amicissimam.* The *unam* in § 84 should not be compared with this, for *rem unam* is there opposed to *multis rebus.*

27 *quantum*] i.e. what a kindness I then did him in abstaining from personal censure.

29 *litteras*] this letter, with Antony's answer to it, is still extant; see Att. XIV. 13 A and B.

diceret] consecutive subjunctive, R. § 1680 foll.; Caesar B. G. I. 39 *quorum alius alia causa illata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat ut* &c. The subjunctive appears to be due to a slight indefiniteness in the relative.

30 *humanitatis*] 'kindly feeling', 'good feeling'.

vitae communis] 'the courtesy of daily life' like *vitae societatem* below.

31 *qui paulum...nosset*] 'who had but a superficial acquaintance with the mutual dealings of honourable men'. The subjunctive is restrictive, cp. R. § 1692: in such cases *quidem* is often added to the relative.

33 *quid est...absentium*] 'what is this but to remove from life all its kindly fellowship and to annul the intercourse of absent friends?' For the form of expression *quid est aliud tollere* 'what else is to remove' where we should say 'what is this but to remove' cp. Phil. I. 22 *quid est aliud hortari adulescentis ut turbulenti...cives velint esse?* an example of the fuller form with *nisi* occurs in Sen. 6 *quid est enim aliud gigantum modo bellare cum Dis nisi naturae repugnare?* Though Cicero adopts

such a high tone here he did not scruple on one occasion to open a letter not intended for himself.

§ 8.

p. 4. 6 *Tironi et Mustelae*] these were two of Antony's agents: cp. Phil. VIII. 26 *Mustelae et Tironi prospicit; de se nihil laborat*; XII. 14 *nolite ne Tirones quidem, Numisios, et Mustelas Seiosve contemnere*; XIII. 3 *addite Antoni collusoris et sodalis...Tironem, Mustelam...comitatum relinquo, duces nomino.*

iam] 'now' i.e. after your speech against me. Cicero implies that Antony by his fierce invective delivered in the meeting at the temple of Concord on 19 Sept. had gained the credit of eloquence with his bloodthirsty followers: cp. Phil. III. 33, V. 20.

7 *cum gladiis*] *cum telo esse* is a regular phrase for 'to be armed', cp. 15, 19, 74 etc.

9 *inter sicarios*] lit. 'among assassins' i.e. in the court where such cases were tried: one may translate 'on a charge of homicide'.

sed] resumptive, after the digression *homo diserte...defensurus*: 'pray what objection, I say, would you make, if' &c.; so in § 80.

10 *istas*] 'that letter of which you speak': *iste* in classical Latin always has some reference to the person addressed; such reference is, I think, perceptible even in the apparent exceptions adduced by Madvig Lat. Gram. § 486.

11 *chirographo*] *chirographum* is merely a transcription of the late Greek word χειρόγραφον 'handwriting'.

12 *quaestuosam*] referring to the profit made by Antony by forging documents purporting to be Caesar's.

qui] an old ablatival form: lit. 'with what', hence 'how'.

librari manu] 'in the secretary's handwriting': cp. Att. IV. 16 § 1 *occupationum mearum vel hoc signum erit, quod epistula librari manu est.*

13 *iam*] 'here'='just at this point' like ἤδη: the next *iam*, before *proferam*, is 'anon'.

magistro tuo] the rhetorician Sextus Clodius, cp. § 43; a different person from the Sextus Clodius referred to in the word *quendam* § 9.

§ 9.

17 *in isto ipso*] 'in that very act of yours'.

19 *istis*] see note on *istas* in § 8.

offici] a word that has no exact representative in English: it signifies

sometimes a respectful sense of obligation, almost 'courtesy', as we may perhaps translate it here; sometimes it bears the more concrete sense of 'service' or 'duty'; sometimes it means 'right action' in a quasi-philosophical sense as translation of the Greek stoic term καθῆκον, as in the title of Cicero's work '*de officiis*'.

20 *omne autem crimen*] 'but your only charge is': note that in good Latin *crimen* never quite corresponds to our 'crime'.

25 *quendam*] Sextus Clodius, an adherent of Publius Clodius, a man of low character. Cicero describes him, Cael. 78, as *hominem sine re, sine fide, sine spe, sine sede, sine fortunis*. He had been banished in the year 52.

§ 10.

29 *verum tamen*] 'but after all'.

31 *in quo*] 'in a matter wherein'.

32 *lege lata*] 'the law having been once passed'. Cicero says ironically 'I suppose he wanted me to confer the favour, when there was no favour even for himself to confer, when the law had been already passed'. If a legislative enactment based on directions left by Caesar permitting Clodius' restitution had been passed, what favour was left for Cicero or Antony to confer? We may reasonably doubt whether Caesar had left any directions on the subject; Antony says in his letter to Cicero, Att. XIV. 13 A, *a Caesare petii ut Sex. Clodium restitueret: impetravi*: and a few lines farther on he speaks of the obligation under which he lay of upholding Caesar's memoranda. But if Cicero may be believed Antony forged such memoranda without scruple.

p. 5. 4 *moderationem modestiamque*] so far as these words differ here, *modestia* probably denotes self-restraint in thought, while *moderatio* means restraint in the outward expression of the thought. Cicero says that each may be used to translate the Greek σωφροσύνη, and cp. Auct. ad Heren. III. 3 *modestia est in animo continens, moderatio cupiditatum*.

5 *ne...putetis*] dependent on *oro*: if it had been a direct prohibition Cicero would have written *ne putaritis*. R. § 1596 foll. and see Reid on Cic. Sen. 33.

7 *me ut consularem*] supply *tractavit*.

8 *etsi*] 'and yet'. Cicero says that Antony is not a true consul as regards either his life, or his policy, or his creation. The last assertion means that he was not formally elected to the consulship, but was nominated by Caesar: cp. § 79 *iussus es renuntiari consul*; Plut. Ant. 11; Appian II. 107 ὑπάτους ἀπέφηνεν αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἀντώνιον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἑαυτοῦ; Dio XLIII. 49 συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσελόμενος. Among other honours, Caesar had received in 48 the privilege of nominating consuls and other magistrates for election by the people, Dio XLII. 20.

§ 11.

13 *quid gessi, quid egi*] so far as there is a difference here between these two words, *gerere* implies a course of action or policy, while *agere* is more restricted to definite actions. Notice here the two triplets *constitui, gessi, egi* and *consilio, auctoritate, sententia*. Cicero *probably* intended each noun to be specially appropriate to the corresponding verb: he made his plans (*constitui*) in accordance with the general views (*consilium*) of the senate; he carried out his policy (*gessi*) under their sanction (*auctoritas*); he acted on each occasion (*egi*) in accordance with their vote (*sententia*).

18 *inventus*] for the form of this sentence cp. § 22 *id...tu inventus es qui diceres*; § 85 *tu ergo unus, scelerate, inventus es qui...velles*; § 64 *unus inventus est qui id auderet*.

fatum] Clodius was murdered by Milo on the Appian road; Curio was slain in battle with Juba king of Mauretania.

19 *id*] by 'the thing that was fatal to each of them' Cicero means Fulvia, who married first Clodius, then Curio, then Antony. By the word *fatale* he probably means little more than 'fraught with mischief', 'baneful', for Fulvia cannot be accused of having caused the death of Clodius or of Curio except so far as she may have urged them on the reckless course that led to their ruin. It should be noticed that modern taste would absolutely condemn such a reference as this to the domestic relations of a political opponent: cp. 77.

§ 12.

21 *P. Servilio*] P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus cos. B.C. 79 with Appius Claudius Pulcher. He died in this year 44. In 78—76 he commanded an expedition against the pirates that infested the coast of Asia Minor and marching inland waged a sanguinary war against the Cilicians, Pamphylians and Isaurians. In 74 he celebrated his triumph and received the *agnomen* or honorary title of Isauricus.

23 *Q. Catulo*] Q. Lutatius Catulus, cos. B.C. 78 with M. Aemilius Lepidus. He aided in stamping out the Catilinarian conspiracy by some strongly

repressive measure, cp. Cael. 70. Cicero was extremely proud of receiving his commendation, cp. Sest. 121 *me...quem Q. Catulus, quem multi alii saepe in senatu patrem patriae nominarant*; Pis. 6 *me Q. Catulus princeps huius ordinis et auctor publici consili, frequentissimo senatu, parentem patriae nominavit.* He died probably in 59, Att. II. 24 § 4.

24 *duobus Lucullis*] (i) L. Licinius Lucullus Ponticus, cos. B.C. 74 with M. Aurelius Cotta, a very able general, who conducted campaigns under great disadvantages against Mithridates and Tigranes in 69—67. His well earned triumph was delayed till 63, cp. Acad. II. 3. See the admirable account of his campaign in Mommsen IV. c. 2. (ii) his brother M. Terentius Varro Lucullus cos. B.C. 73 with C. Cassius Varus. He gained some victories in Thrace for which he was allowed the honour of a triumph in 71.

M. Crasso] M. Licinius Crassus, who on account of his great wealth received the *agnomen* of Dives, was consul with Cn. Pompeius twice, in 70 and in 55. In 60 he was one of the first triumvirate which consisted of Caesar, Pompey and Crassus. He was defeated by the Parthians and slain in battle near Carrhae in Mesopotamia in 54: cp. above § 7.

Q. Hortensio] cos. B.C. 69 with Q. Caecilius Metellus. He was next to Cicero the greatest Roman advocate: he died in 50.

C. Curioni] C. Scribonius Curio, father of the Curio often mentioned in this speech. He was consul in 76 with Cn. Octavius. He fought against the Maesians and Dardanians, and was the first Roman general who reached the Danube: he died in 53. For his praise of Cicero's consulship cp. Att. I. 16 § 13 *consulatum illum nostrum quem Curio ἀποθέωσιν vocabat.*

25 *C. Pisoni*] C. Calpurnius Piso, cos. B.C. 67 with M'. Acilius Glabrio On his return from his proconsulship in Gaul he was charged with extortion and was successfully defended by Cicero.

M'. Glabrioni] see last note. He was appointed successor to Lucullus in the Mithridatic war.

M'. Lepido] cos. in B.C. 66 with L. Volcatius Tullus. He was grandson of M. Aemilius Lepidus, cos. 158 and sixth in descent from the like-named consul of 285.

L. Volcatio] see last note. Observe that the former consul was designated by his *cognomen* Lepidus, but this one by his *nomen* Volcatius; cp. Sull. 11 *Lepido et Volcatio consulibus* with Cat. I. 15 *Lepido et Tullo consulibus*; so little fixity of usage was there in these matters.

C. Figulo] C. Marcius Figulus, cos. in B.C. 64 with L. Iulius Caesar a relative of the great Julius.

26 *D. Silano, L. Murenae*] D. Iunius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena were the consuls of 62, and were therefore as Cicero says *consules designati* in 63. The former gave it as his opinion that the Catilinarian conspirators should be put to death. Murena was accused of bribery in his candidature for the consulship and was successfully defended by Cicero in a speech still extant.

27 *M. Catoni*] hitherto Cicero had been speaking of exconsuls; he now mentions one who never held the office of consul, M. Porcius Cato, a rigid Stoic, who not choosing to survive the defeat of his party committed suicide at Utica shortly after the battle of Thapsus B.C. 46. Cicero wrote a treatise in praise of him called '*laus Catonis*', to which Caesar replied with an '*Anticato*'. Cato approved highly of Cicero's policy during his consulship but refused to vote in favour of his having a *supplicatio* decreed in his honour, for which Cicero thought him ungrateful. See the correspondence between them in Fam. XV. 3—6.

qui...vidit] *cum...tum* = 'both...and': hence translate literally 'who both exercised forethought (*providit*) in many (other) things by quitting life, and also in the fact that (*quod*) he did not see you consul'. Cicero says ironically that Cato showed great foresight in dying as he did, and so avoiding, among other calamities, the sight of Antony holding the consulship. For the construction cp. leg. Agr. II. 91 *multum in posterum providerunt quod...urbem ipsam solutam ac debilitatam reliquerunt.*

30 *decedens ex Syria*] this was early in the year 62 but he did not enter Rome till the autumn of 61. In a letter to Pompey written during the course of the year 62, Fam. V. 7, and elsewhere, Cicero complains that Pompey had not adequately appreciated his great services to his country.

31 *visurum*] 'he should see' when he entered Rome, that being in the strict sense his *patria*. Cicero met him outside Rome when he was waiting for his triumph.

32 *quid...commemoro*] 'why do I mention': *quid commemorem*, which Cicero might have written, would be 'why should I mention': cp. Cat. IV. 15 *quid ego equites Romanos commemorem?* and directly after (§ 16) *quid ego hosce homines ordinesque commemoro?*

p. 6. 2 *referret acceptam*] *referre acceptum* is a book-keeping phrase 'to set down as received', 'to enter on the credit side of one's accounts': the expression is often used metaphorically, as it is here; e.g. *tibi vitam meam acceptam refero* means 'I place my life to your credit', i.e. in the

account between us I acknowledge that I stand indebted to you for my life: cp. 40, 55, Att. XI. 1 § 2, and often in Cicero.

§ 13.

4 *qui duo*] we should say 'of whom two'.

5 *reliqui sunt*] 'are left': *reliquos* almost = *relictus*, as *eximius* is sometimes used in sense of *exemptus* Div. Caec. 52: cp. Cluent. 22 *eum filium quem tamen unum ex multis fortuna reliquom esse voluisset*, in which passage we may compare the words *unum ex multis* with Horace's *una de multis face nuptiali digna* Carm. III. 11, 33 and with Cicero in this passage *duo de consularium numero*, from which it appears that *de* or *ex* may be used indifferently in such phrases, though *ex* is the more common. See Holden on Off. III. 34 *quicquam...de eis*, who cp. Mil. 65 *ab uno de illis*.

L. Cotta] see note on § 2 l. 17. L. Aurelius Cotta was consul in 65 with T. Manlius Torquatus. In 64 he filled the office of censor, though according to Plutarch he was φιλοινότατος. In 57 when the consul P. Lentulus Spinther brought forward a motion granting Cicero permission to return from exile, Cotta who was *princeps senatus* being asked his opinion said that as Cicero had not been legally banished no law was necessary for his recall. Sest. 73, dom. 68.

ingenio] ablative of quality.

6 *rebus eis gestis*] 'when I had performed those exploits'.

7 *supplicationem*] 'a public thanksgiving': the duration of these thanksgivings varied; this one was probably for five days; cp. prov. cons. 27, Halm on Cat. III. 15 (ed. Wilkins).

9 *qui...nemini*] cp. Cat. III. 15 *supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit, et his verbis decreta est 'quod urbem incendiis, caede civis, Italiam bello liberassem'*.

10 *togato*] = 'in time of peace': lit. 'clad in the toga', which was the garb of peace, as distinguished from the *sagum* which was worn in war, hence such expressions as *saga sumere, ad saga ire* Phil. V. 31, XIV. 1.

nemini] notice the emphatic position of this word: Caesar says with equal pride and emphasis, B. G. II. 35 *dierum quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli*.

§ 14.

L. Caesar] Antony's father, M. Antonius Creticus, married Iulia sister of L. Iulius Caesar, who was consul in 64: see note on § 12 l. 25: cp. Phil. VIII. 1, 2.

12 *vitricum*] 'stepfather': P. Lentulus Sura who married Antony's widowed mother Iulia: cp. Cat. IV. 13 *L. Caesar...sororis suae...virum praesentem et audientem vita privandum esse dixit.* He voted for the execution of his brother-in-law Lentulus one of the Catilinarian conspirators.

14 *te similem...maluisti*] cp. Phil. V. 6 *quae essent, si te consulem quam hostem maluisses, tuae*: which may be compared both for the accusative and infinitive construction after *malle*, and also for the omission of *esse*: contrast with this Phil. V. 3 *inimicus quam amicus esse maluit.* The twofold construction of *malle, velle* is akin to that of *cupere*, e.g. *cupio videri* 'I wish to seem', or *cupio me videri* 'I wish that I should seem': see Halm on Cat. II. 4 (ed. Wilkins), cp. below § 19 *cupit enim se audacem*.

15 *usus sum*] Cicero followed the advice that L. Caesar and others gave him that the conspirators should be put to death.

16 *ecquid*] 'did you ever refer any matter of state to him for consideration?'

§ 15.

18 *descendit*] supply *in forum*: *descendere* was the regular term for going into the *forum*, which was situated on comparatively low ground.

19 *nataliciam*] sc. *cenam*, a birthday feast.

hortis] the house and grounds once belonging to Pompey, see below § 67.

20 *Phormioni*] Cicero proceeds to mention three characters from Latin comedy; how far they are intended to represent living persons it is hard to say: cp. Caec. 27 *argentarius Sex. Clodius, cui nomen est Phormio, nec minus niger nec minus confidens quam ille Terentianus est Phormio.* This is perhaps a different person from the Sex. Clodius referred to above § 9, as well as from the rhetorician mentioned in § 43.

Gnathoni] a parasite in the Eunuchus of Terence.

21 *Ballioni*] a disreputable character in the Pseudolus of Plautus. In a speech delivered in B.C. 76 Cicero compared a Greek adventurer C. Fannius Chaerea to Ballio, Rosc. Com. § 20.

22 *tu...referas*] a wondering indignant question 'would you refer?' it is found with all three persons, cp. Planc. 93 *ego eum non tuear? ego C. Caesaris laudibus desim?* Phil. VI. 5 *an ille id faciat?...huic denuntiationi ille pareat?* the usage is fully illustrated by Draeger Hist. Synt. § 526: cp. above § 5 *eum tu occideres?* The subjunctive is probably an apodosis to an implied protasis.

24 *referas*] notice how forcibly the intended contrast is brought out by this *referas* being placed immediately after the other and without any adversative particle, such as *autem.*

26 *videlicet*] 'it is clear', 'forsooth': introduces an ironical statement.

27 *pudorem*] 'sense of honour', *pudicitia* 'modesty'.

28 *in eo templo*] the temple of Concord built by M. Furius Camillus B.C. 367, cp. Ovid Fasti I. 639, Plut. Camill. 42: see below § 19 and Phil. III. 30 where it is called *cella Concordiae*, in Phil. V. 20 it is *aedes Concordiae.* It stood at the upper or north-western end of the forum. In its latest restoration "the *pronaos* is smaller than the *cella*, and forms a kind of porch to it, and the *cella* has greater breadth than depth; the former measuring 82 feet in breadth and 45 in depth, and the latter 147 feet in width by 78 in depth", Burn, Rome and the Campagna p. 91. The senate could only hold its sittings in a *templum*, i.e. a place (not necessarily a covered building) which had received the divine sanction by the process of *inauguratio* at the hands of the augurs. The ceremony of 'consecrating' (*consecratio*) a building was performed by one of the higher magistrates.

§ 16.

31 *tu*] emphatic: 'such a person as you'.

clivom Capitolinum] for the event cp. Halm-Wilkins Introduction to Catil. speeches § 26. The date was 5 Dec. 63.

32 *servorum*] probably to be taken literally 'slaves', not as HM. "knights as Cicero's vassals" (J.S.R.).

33 *credo*] the parenthetic *credo* as usual introduces an ironical statement: 'I suppose I applied force to the senate to make them pass those wicked decrees'. He means the decrees by which the conspirators were executed and their property confiscated.

nefaria] this word is no doubt a quotation from Antony.

p. 7. 1 *o miser*] the exclamation *o* is followed either by a nominative or an accusative, according as the person or thing spoken of with astonishment is regarded by the speaker as subject or object of an action: here *o miser* implies something like *o quam miser es*; contrast this with § 54 *o miserum te si haec intellegis*, where the idea in the writer's mind is 'how wretched must we suppose you to be' or something similar: in § 89 *auguria* and in § 104 *tecta* are probably nominatives: for other exx. see §§ 4, 15, 58, 63, 68, 83, 86, 100; and with the form of the present passage, cp. 110 *o detestabilem hominem sive quod tyranni sacerdos es sive quod mortui.*

4 *adulescens*] Antony was about 20 at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy.

qui...meminisset] i.e. who remembered his duty as a citizen.

5 *cum...esset*] *cum* must be slightly causal, hence the subjunctive; otherwise one might have expected *erat.*

6 *nomen*] the meaning is 'who did not give in his name as a volunteer for the protection of the senate?'

§ 17.

9 *consciorum*] the Allobrogian envoys who gave information of the proposals the conspirators had made to them; in other ways too the conspiracy oozed out, as was natural considering the numbers implicated.

sua manu] cp. Cat. III. 10 *cognovit* (*Statilius*) *et signum et manum suam.*

voce paene litterarum] *paene* qualifies the boldness of the metaphor. Cicero refers to the intercepted dispatches addressed to the Allobrogian envoys and found on their persons when they were arrested on the Mulvian bridge. The writers were Cethegus, Statilius and Lentulus: Cat. III. 10.

11 *quis esset*] 'who would there be', not 'who was there', which would require *erat.*

12 *ducem*] Cicero is here referring to himself.

14 *si qui*] it is hard to establish any clear distinction between the use of *quis* and of *qui* in such expressions as this; perhaps *qui* is more adjectival than *quis.*

accidit contigisset] *contingere* is more often used of good than of bad fortune, while *accidere* is far more often used of bad than of good: the present passage and Cat. I. 16 *si hoc* (to be received with a dead silence) *post hominum memoriam contigit nemini* (with many others, cp. Reid on Am. § 8) give exceptions in the use of *contingere*, while Att. I. 5 *omnia quae iucunda accidere possunt accidebant* and Caes. B. G. I. 30, IV. 22 afford instances of exception in the use of *accidere.*

15 *ad sepulturam*] Plutarch Ant. 2 says emphatically that the corpses

were given up for burial, *φησὶν Ἀντώνιος οὐδὲ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοθῆναι τοῦ Λέντλου πρότερον ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ Κικέρωνος τὴν μητέρα δεηθῆναι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁμολογουμένως ψεῦδός ἐστιν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἴρχθη ταφῆς τῶν τότε κολασθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κικέρωνος.*

§ 18.

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uxor is used ironically as Cytheris was not married to Antony: she was an actress.

14 *cedant arma togae*] part of a line, *cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*, which occurred in Cicero's poem 'de suis temporibus' written probably in B.C. 54. Only one other line from it has been preserved, *o fortunatam natam me consule Romam.* These poor jingling lines afforded his contemporaries much theme for scorn, cp. Off. I. 77 *illud autem optimum est in quod invadi solere ab improbis et invidis audio*: '*cedant*' &c.; Pis. 73, 74 where Cicero condescends to explain his meaning for Piso's benefit. For the meaning of *toga* see above note on § 13 l. 10.

tum] in my consulship.

20 *defuisse*] as HM. point out, this remark seems to imply that Antony had charged Cicero with writing verses to the neglect of other more important duties.

21 *omni genere monumentorum*] Cicero refers chiefly to his philosophical and rhetorical writings. His desire to be of use to the youth of his country by promoting the study of literature and philosophy is a marked and honourable feature in his character.

22 *vigiliae*] almost=*lucubrationes* 'my lucubrations', that is, the literary tasks accomplished during my nightly vigils: cp. Quintilian XI. 3. 23 *et vigilandae noctes et fuligo lucubrationum bibenda.*

§ 21.

26 *putarent*] beware of translating this as if it were *putassent.*

cum tu...insecutus es] the story is told in Mil. 40 *nuper vero cum M. Antonius summam spem salutis bonis omnibus attulisset gravissimamque adulescens nobilissimus rei publicae partem fortissime suscepisset atque illam beluam, iudici laqueos declinantem, iam irretitam teneret, qui locus, quod tempus illud, di immortales, fuit! cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebris abdidisset, magnum Miloni fuit conficere illam pestem nulla sua invidia, M. vero Antoni maxima gloria.* This took place in 53 when Antony was a candidate for the quaestorship; cp. § 49.

28 *scalas tabernae librariae*] 'the staircase of a bookshop'. Whole houses in Rome were often let in portions for shop premises, each tradesman hiring so much of the house as he required for the purposes of his trade. The bookseller here referred to seems to have had his shop upstairs, and it was in the dark staircase leading to it that Clodius hid himself, securing his retreat by closing (*oppilatis*) the entrance, probably by means of a door, cp. Cic. Fragm. 152, 44 (Nobbe) *aperuit fores scalarum.*

30 *favisse*] 'gave you my countenance'.

32 *rem transegit*] above he says *negotium transegisses* as we might say 'finish the business'.

33 *suspicaretur*] notice the mood: 'before anyone should (could) suspect': *suspicatus est* would be 'before anyone (actually) did suspect'. "After *ante quam, prius quam* the indicative merely points out the *fact* that of two events one succeeds the other in time, while the subjunctive declares that their succession is *willed* by a person". Reid on Cic. Balb. § 18.

at] 'but, you say'; this use of *at*, introducing an opponent's objection, is very common in this speech, as elsewhere. Another common use of *at* is to mark a transition from one argument or subject to another, 'but again', as in the first line of § 20.

§ 22.

p. 9. 3 *quamquam*] 'and yet' an enquiry was held.

4 *non satis prudenter illa quidem constituta*] 'not quite wisely constituted it is true': this restrictive use of *ille quidem* which may be translated 'it is true', followed by an adversative clause, is very common in Cicero, cp. § 66 *multa et lauta supellex...non illa quidem luxuriosi hominis, sed* &c., 'not, it is true, that of a person of luxurious habits'; R. § 2259 foll.

5 *nova lege*] this was the *lex Pompeia de vi*, which being passed only for a special occasion was called a *privilegium.* It was passed under the influence of the intense excitement prevalent in Rome in consequence of the murder of Clodius, and was intended to introduce a more convenient and expeditious mode of procedure at the trial. Its particulars are stated by Asconius in his introduction to the Milo, of which a translation will be found in the Pitt Press edition of that speech.

6 *cum esset quaestio*] 'when there already existed a form of enquiry'. The *lex Plotia de vi* might have been put in force, without recourse being had to a new enactment such as that of Pompey.

8 *tu es inventus*] see note on § 11 l. 18.

§ 23.

9 *idque*] 'and that too': in Greek *καὶ ταῦτα.*

11 *non tu quidem*] for this restrictive *quidem* with the personal pronoun, followed by an adversative clause, see above on l. 4.

12 *temporibus*] 'dates': ablative of the 'thing in point of which' a term is applied or an assertion made, R. § 1210.

13 *M. Bibulo*] M. Bibulus was consul with Caesar in B.C. 59. He disapproved of many of the measures of his able and ambitious colleague, but was too powerless to prevent them, and showed his displeasure by shutting himself up in his house for a considerable part of the year, which gave rise to the lines *non Bibulo quicquam nuper sed Caesare factum est,* | *nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.* Cicero was absent from Rome for the first half of this year, returning in June. It was probably after this that he endeavoured to detach Pompey from Caesar. His letters at this time contain many expressions of regard for Pompey, who promised him protection against his enemy Clodius, and at the same time of mistrust of his policy. Cicero's own statements in his letters to Atticus that he was watching the turn of events and abstaining from political interference, Att. II. 22 § 3, seem at variance with his assertion here that he did his utmost to detach Pompey from Caesar; but cp. Fam. VI. 6 § 4 *plurimi sunt testes me et initio, ne coniungeret se cum Caesare, monuisse Pompeium, et postea ne se diiungeret.*

16 *ipse enim...diiunxit*] Cicero is probably thinking of the following year 58 when Pompey notwithstanding Cicero's earnest entreaties refused to save him from the persecution of Clodius, saying that he could do nothing contrary to Caesar's wish: cp. Plutarch Cic. 30 *ἐφ' ᾧ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ* Καῖσαρ *τόν τε* Κλώδιον *ἐπέρρωσε καὶ* Πομπήιον *ἀπέστρεψε κομιδῇ τοῦ* Κικέρωνος, *αὐτός τε κατεμαρτύρησεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καλῶς μηδὲ νομίμως ἄνδρας ἀκρίτους ἀνῃρῆσθαι τοὺς περὶ Λέντλον καὶ* Κέθηγον: and see ib. 31 for the account of Cicero's interview with Pompey referred to in Att. X. 4 § 3; Forsyth Life of Cicero p. 183.

18 *stulti ..impudentis*] a good instance of the well-known grammatical figure called 'chiasmus'.

§ 24.

20 *suaserim*] the subjunctive is consecutive, R. §§ 1680 foll.: the perfect is used of a definite past event; contrast this with Caes. B. G. VI. 24 *fuit antea tempus cum Germanos Galli virtute superarent* 'there

was a time when the Gauls were superior to the Germans', and with the present passage cp. Cic. Mur. 25 *inventus est scriba quidam...qui cornicum oculos confixerit.*

21 *si potes*] 'if you can': Cicero might have written *si possis* 'if you were able'.

quinquenni] Pompey and Crassus as consuls in 55 proposed in the *lex Pompeia de provinciis* that Caesar's command in the two Gallic provinces and Illyricum should be prolonged for 5 years, from 1 March 54 to 1 March 49. The original limit of his command was for 5 years from 1 March 59 to 1 March 54. See Att. VIII. 3 § 3 (written in 49) where Cicero accumulates instances of Pompey's weakness and vacillation at a critical period.

22 *prorogaret*] "'to prolong Caesar's *imperium* for 5 years', lit. 'to propose a further 5 years' *imperium*'; not 'to extend his *former* 5 years' *imperium*': cp. § 74 *paucis tibi prorogatis diebus* i.e. 'allowing you a few days' respite'" (M).

ut absentis eius ratio haberetur] *rationem habere absentis* 'to take account of a person in his absence' was a technical phrase of the Roman constitution signifying to allow a person to stand for an office in his absence, that is, to allow him to dispense with the obligation of giving in his name in person at least three weeks (*trinundinum*) before the date of election. Caesar wished to stand for the consulship of 48, but his command in Gaul would not expire till March 49, and by a previous law which had been nominally but not practically altered he was entitled to retain his command till the arrival of his successor on 1 Jan. 48, which he was very anxious to do in order to escape impeachment, to which he was liable when out of office. He would thus be unable to give in his name before the date of election which would probably take place in July 49. There was an old rule requiring this personal declaration, and it was naturally of importance for Caesar and his party that the obligation should be dispensed with, not only for the reason above mentioned, but also because by entering the city for the *professio* he would forfeit his triumph: accordingly a special enactment or *privilegium* granting this dispensation was carried by the ten tribunes in 52, with the consent of Pompey; but in the *lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum*, contemporaneous with the *lex Pompeia de provinciis* mentioned above, the old rule was reaffirmed without any exception being made in favour of Caesar who was thus again excluded. Suetonius says (Caes. 28) that this was due to an oversight of Pompey's, *per*

oblivionem, but it was clearly an oversight in his own interest. Yet, strange to say, yielding to the pressure of the Caesarian party, he caused a special clause to be inserted in the law after it had been engraved and deposited in the *aerarium*, making the requisite exception in Caesar's favour. This late addition was irregular, if not illegal, and in consequence of these many changes of the law it was hard to define Caesar's exact position with respect to his candidature. It may be noticed that Cicero's account of his own action here is not quite easy to reconcile with that given in Fam. VI. 6 § 5 and Att. VII. 1 § 4.

27 *provideram*] Cicero often speaks of his own political foresight; in a letter to Caecina Fam. VI. 6 (the whole of which should be read), written about August 46, he says 'I would tell you of all my predictions which have been verified, did I not fear that you would think me to be prophesying after the event'. Some MSS have *praevideram*, but Cicero very seldom uses *praevidere*, and Caesar never.

28 *compositionis*] 'amicable arrangement': cp. Caes. B. C. I. 32 *legatos ad Pompeium de compositione mitti oportere*.

29 *illa vox*] 'that expression': we do not know on what occasion these words were uttered; they are referred to in the letter to Caecina quoted above, Fam. VI. 6 § 4 *plurimi sunt testes me et initio, ne coniungeret se cum Caesare, monuisse Pompeium et postea ne se diiungeret: coniunctione frangi senatus opes, diiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam.*

30 *coisses*] *coire societatem* 'to form an alliance'; cognate accusative: the phrase is also used of a trading partnership, cp. Rosc. Am. 20, 87, 96. Sometimes *in* or *ad societatem* is used, cp. Suet. Aug. 32 *ad nullius non facinoris societatem coibant*; Tac. Hist. III. 12 *mos est regibus, quotiens in societatem coeant, implicare dextras.*

31 *diremisses*] so used of breaking up an alliance in Att. IV. 17 § 3 (Wesenberg) *dirempta coitione.*

gravitatis] 'dignity', 'self-respect'.

p. 10. 2 *concidisses*] 'would have collapsed': notice the tense and contrast it with *staret* 'would be standing'.

§ 25.

5 *praevaricatorem*] *praevaricator* was one, in the language of the jurists, *qui diversam partem adiuvat, prodita caussa sua*, that is, one who is in collusion with the opposite side. Cicero's argument is—when my opponent charges me with being concerned in Caesar's murder,

people must think that he is in collusion with me and while pretending to attack is really aiding me, for to have taken part in such a glorious deed would be a reason for boasting, not for shame.

7 *societate facti*] for the genitive of description cp. 32 *consili societatem.*

8 *fuisset*] the indicative *fuerat* would have been possible, but the subjunctive generalises the statement, *qui* being almost equivalent to *dummodo is* 'provided that he had been'.

9 *occultatum dico?*] a frequent rhetorical trick with Cicero of repeating a word interrogatively with *dico* and then rejecting it as insufficient and substituting a different mode of expression.

citius dixerim] 'I would sooner have said' or 'I would sooner say'.

10 *iactasse*] some actually did so, as P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and C. Octavius: Plut. Caes. 67; Appian B.C. II. 119 adds others.

11 *quam ut quisquam*] notice that *dixerim* is first followed by an accusative and infinitive clause *iactasse se aliquos*, and then by an *ut* clause *ut quisquam...vellet*: of course the *ut...viderentur* above is a final clause 'in order that they might be thought'.

§ 26.

12 *tot*] Suetonius says that there were over sixty engaged in the plot, Caes. 80.

14 *etenim si auctores...auctoribus*] Cicero implies that Brutus Cassius and the rest needed no one to 'authorise' their deed: they were of sufficient authority in themselves.

15 *Brutos*] the two Bruti were M. Iunius Brutus and Decimus Iunius Brutus Albinus.

ego] said with emphasis: 'such as I'.

16 *L. Bruti*] Cicero says that each of the Bruti had before his eyes the ancestral effigy of L. Iunius Brutus, who delivered Rome from the Tarquins. As a matter of fact they were not his descendants: cp. Orelli's Onomasticon s. v. L. Iunius Brutus. [Sometimes less distinguished families appropriated the *imagines* of the more distinguished who bore the same name. J.S.R.]

17 *alter etiam Ahalae*] because M. Brutus was the son of Servilia, a lady of the well-known Servilian *gens*, to which belonged C. Servilius Structus Ahala, who when master of the horse to the dictator Cincinnatus in 439 B.C. assassinated Spurius Maelius, a rich plebeian who had devoted his wealth in a time of great distress to the relief of the poor and was accused of aiming at kingly power. The foul murder, for such it

seems to have been, constituted Ahala a hero in the eyes of Roman aristocrats: cp. Lael. 28; Livy IV. 13.

his maioribus] 'with such ancestors as these': ablative of attendant circumstances, R. § 1240.

18 *foris...domo*] 'from outside'...'from their own home': in Greek ἔξωθεν...οἰκόθεν.

19 *quid?*] 'again'.

C. Cassius] a member of the same family as Sp. Cassius Vecellinus who in 486 B.C. when consul brought forward an agrarian law and was consequently put to death, his own father according to some authorities, Livy II. 41, taking a chief part in his prosecution. Hence Cicero says the Cassian family could not brook any undue assumption of power (*potentia*), much less an absolute supremacy. Valerius Maximus VI. 3 1 says of him that *plus suspicio concupitae dominationis nocuit quam tres magnifici consulatus ac duo speciosissimi triumphi profuerunt.*

21 *credo*] ironical, as usual.

22 *in Cilicia*] this must have been in the summer of 47 when Caesar after finishing the Alexandrian war sailed to Syria and Cilicia and thence marched through Cappadocia to Pontus, cp. [Caes.] bell. Alex. 66 *ipse eadem classe qua venerat proficiscitur in Ciliciam: cuius provinciae civitates omnis evocat Tarsum quod oppidum fere totius Ciliciae nobilissimum fortissimumque est.* Tarsus was on the river Cydnus, now called the Tersus. Nothing else is known of this occurrence. I do not quite understand Halm's remarks (Introduction, note 55).

23 *quam constituerat*] = *ad quam constituerat* (*naves appellere*). The omission of the preposition is abundantly illustrated by HM.

§ 27.

24 *Cn. Domitium*] son of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, killed by Antony at Pharsalus in 48 (cp. below, § 71), and Porcia sister of M. Porcius Cato who committed suicide at Utica in 46. Caesar had spared the lives of the two Domitii after the capture of Corfinium held by the elder Domitius for Pompey in 49: Caes. B.C. I. 23.

26 *sed mea auctoritas*] in translating we should arrange this sentence somewhat differently—'was it my authority, and not rather the death of his father...that aroused Domitius to essay the recovery of liberty?' The *mea* is emphatic as is the *ego* in the next line.

27 *C. Trebonio*] one of Caesar's *legati* in Gaul, and afterwards entrusted

by his master with the siege of Massilia. He tried to engage Antony in the plot against Caesar's life, cp. Plut. Ant. 13.

persuasi...suadere] *suadere* is to try and convince a person, *persuadere* to succeed in convincing him. Our word 'persuade' is ambiguous.

28 *quo*] 'whereby', 'wherefore'. Improved modern feeling regards Trebonius as one of the basest of traitors.

30 *depulsor*] not elsewhere in Cicero or any author of this period: the word seems to have been applied to Jupiter as 'averter' of ills.

31 *L. Tillius Cimber*] he too was at first a staunch partisan of Caesar who had entrusted him with the province of Bithynia. On the ides of March Cimber approached Caesar with a petition for his brother who was in exile, and the rest of the conspirators crowded round him as though to further his request. After the murder he returned to Bithynia.

p. 11. 2 *duos Servilios*] P. Servilius Casca and C. Servilius Casca. As they were a branch of the Servilian *gens*, Cicero hesitates whether to give them the surname Casca or Ahala: see note on § 26 l. 17. P. Casca struck the first blow and then called on his brother to aid.

3 *rei publicae*] objective genitive after *caritas*, 'affection for the republic'.

§ 28.

8 *Ciceronem nominatim exclamavit*] 'called aloud on Cicero by name': this use of *exclamare* seems rare: in Plaut. Amph. 1120 *voce clara exclamat uxorem tuam*, quoted by LS., *inclamat* should probably be read.

11 *appellandi mei*] the object (*me*) is attracted into the case of the gerund; the gerund receives adjectival inflexions and is made to agree with the object in number and gender and is then called the gerundive. R. § 1374, 1395. For instance 'the reason for calling the woman' would be not *caussa appellandi mulierem* (gerund), but *caussa appellandae mulieris* (gerundive).

consimilem] 'precisely similar', stronger than *similem*: the word takes a genitive or a dative.

13 *laudium*] *laus* is frequently used of a praiseworthy action, cp. Att II. 25 *quam ornate nostras laudes in astra sustulit* where it almost = 'merits'. The form *laudium* seems well attested.

§ 29.

15 *sit*] 'if, in your view, it is a crime'; the subjunctive seems to show that Cicero is expressing the thought of another and not speaking directly in his own person, but it may possibly be explained as in § 31 l. 7 where see note.

19 *regnare*] this and *regnum* are often used of despotic power.

20 *boni*] the well-intentioned party, the *optimates* with whom Cicero was politically allied.

§ 30.

23 *stuporem*] a stronger word than *stultitia*, cp. 80 *incredibilem stupiditatem hominis cognoscite.*

pecudis] not quite the same as our insulting epithet 'beast' which would be *belua* (a word that Cicero is very fond of applying to his enemies) but rather corresponding to our 'blockhead', implying dull insensibility or stupidity; cp. Phil. VIII. 9 *homines agrestes, si homines illi ac non pecudes potius, inani spe...provehuntur.*

24 *honoris caussa*] this was an apologetic expression used in reference to a living person mentioned by the speaker; 'Brutus, whose name I mention with all possible respect'. A passage from Q. Rosc. Com. 18 is worth quoting in illustration of this: *nonne quotienscunque in caussa in nomen huius incidisti, totiens hunc et virum bonum esse dixisti et honoris caussa appellasti? quod nemo nisi aut honestissimo aut amicissimo facere consuevit. qua in re mihi ridicule es visus esse inconstans, qui eundem et laederes et laudares, et virum optimum et hominem improbissimum esse diceres. eundem tu et honoris caussa appellabas et virum primarium esse dicebas et socium fraudasse arguebas.*

28 *prae se tulit*] *prae se ferre* is not often used of holding or carrying an actual thing or person in front of one, being more often applied to the open display of qualities or feelings, as *prae se ferre gaudium, tristitiam, clementiam* etc., but cp. Suet. Calig. 19 *prae se ferens* (*in curru*) *Darium puerum.*

tulit] it should be remembered that *tuli* (*tetuli*) is strictly the perfect of *tollo* but is borrowed by *fero* which has properly speaking no perfect of its own: *tollo* uses for its perfect *sustuli* strictly a perfect of the rare present *sustollo*, and the same perfect is also borrowed to serve as the perfect of *suffero*. The original stem of *tollo*, viz. TAL becomes by an easy and not uncommon change of sound TLA, whence the participle

tlatus or by the dropping of the *t*, another easy vocal change, *latus*. Beginners, if capable of surprise at any of the anomalies of grammar, must often wonder at the confusion in this class of verbs.

31 *consul*] 'in your position of consul': i.e. as supreme magistrate of the state it is fitting that you should pronounce an authoritative decision on the conduct of these men.

32 *reliquorum*] we say 'and of the rest': in such enumerations the Romans always omit the copula.

quam velis esse caussam] 'what you decide their case to be', i.e. 'what view you take of their case'.

edormi crapulam...exhala] cp. Plaut. Rud. 586 *edormiscam hanc crapulam*, and for *exhala*, cp. below, § 42 *vini exhalandi* and Verr. II. 3, 28 *nondum...crapulam exhalassent.*

33 *faces*] apparently an allusion to some trick of waking a person from a comatose condition by applying a brand. On the Continent worn-out horses are still sometimes started on a journey by the application of fire.

§ 31.

p. 12. 4 *cogitationem...suscipe*] 'address yourself for a moment to the reflection befitting a sober man': cp. Att. XIV. 20 § 4 *quaeris ut suscipiam cogitationem quidnam istis agendum putem.*

7 *nisi...sint*] subjunctive, because the clause is 'suboblique' or subordinate to oratio obliqua *confiteor eos...esse*, Kennedy § 190. The same explanation may possibly apply to the subjunctive *sit* in § 29 l. 15.

9 *parricidas*] parricide was regarded by the Romans as a crime almost too heinous to be possible: cp. Rosc. Am. § 62 *quae* (*sceleris vestigia*) *nisi multa et manifesta sunt, profecto res tam scelesta, tam atrox, tam nefaria credi non potest*, and § 70 where Cicero relates a tradition that Solon enacted no law against it because the possibility of such a crime never occurred to him.

10 *si quidem*] 'if indeed': *si quidem* sometimes means 'since' but that would not make such good sense here. The murderers of Caesar are often called parricides, and Suetonius Caes. 88 says that it was proposed to call the ides of March *parricidium* 'the day of parricide'.

suum] 'one's own'; referring to a general subject.

11 *sapiens et considerate*] the same epithets are quoted by LS. from Pliny Pan. 44 § 5 *consideratus ac sapiens*: *consideratus* is properly 'well considered', used of plans or actions, then transferred to the persons who

plan or act, 'circumspect', 'thoughtful'. Our word 'considerate' denoting a kindly regard for the feelings of others is not parallel with the Latin.

si parricidas] supply *esse*, 'if (you say) that they are parricides'. HM. are hardly right in translating *quid dicis* 'what do you call them?'; it should be 'what do you say (that they are)?' Some MSS have *parricidae*, which may be right; in that case supply *sunt* and translate 'what do you say? If they are parricides', &c.

12 *honoris caussa*] see note on § 30 l. 24 and the passage there quoted

in hoc ordine] in the senate; *apud populum Romanum* in the *contiones* or speeches addressed to the Roman people in public assembly.

14 *referente te*] 'on your proposition': *referre ad senatum*, to lay a proposal before the senate.

legibus est solutus] 'was freed from legal obligation', 'absolved from the laws': the phrase *legibus solvere* is used of exemption from the operation of a particular law, not of course of all laws.

si ab urbe] M. Brutus was *praetor urbanus* in 44, and as such was not allowed to quit the city for more than ten days at a time. This restriction was probably arranged by the Licinian law of 367 B.C. when the urban praetorship was formally constituted. Brutus seems to have left Rome in April, cp. Att. XIV. 7, but it would appear from Att. XV. 9 that formal leave of absence was first given him on the 5 June; in that case the permission to disregard the law must have been retrospective. Cassius was *praetor qui inter peregrinos ius dicit* or briefly *praetor peregrinus*, and though his office was called an *urbana provincia* yet he was not strictly the *praetor urbanus* and was not bound to limit himself to ten days' absence from Rome. MM. II. 179 n. 5.

15 *ludi Apollinares*] these games were first instituted B.C. 212 as a means of propitiating Apollo and gaining his aid against the Carthaginians Liv. XXV. 12; in B.C. 208 the date of celebration was fixed on 13 July (reading *idus* for *nonas* in Liv. XXVII. 23): subsequently their duration was extended, and at this time they seem to have lasted from 6 to 13 July. MM. VI. 480. They were presided over by the *praetor urbanus*, thus affording an exception to the rule that the celebration of games was one of the duties of the *aediles*.

incredibili M. Bruti honore] cp. Phil. I. 36 *qui ludis suis ita caruit, ut in illo apparatissimo spectaculo studium populus Romanus tribueret absenti, desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clamore leniret.* Brutus as *praetor urbanus* ought to have celebrated the games in person,

hence *ludis suis* above: cp. Phil. X. 7, 8; according to Appian B. C. III. 23 they were celebrated in his stead by C. Antonius, the brother of Marcus.

incredibili honore] ablative of attendant circumstances.

16 *provinciae*] on 1 June Crete was assigned to Brutus, Cyrene to Cassius, by the *lex Antonia de permutatione provinciarum*; previously Macedonia had been destined by Caesar himself for Brutus, Syria for Cassius; and this had been confirmed by the senate on 18 March.

17 *quaestores*] a military *quaestor* accompanied each of the provincial praetors; his duties were mainly financial: as it was usual for provincial governors to have quaestors there would be no point in Cicero's statement of the fact that Brutus and Cassius had them: he must mean that they had more than the ordinary number, and this is implied by the word *additi*.

legatorum] we do not know the number of these *legati*: apparently a *propraetor* usually had one legate, MM. II. 646 notes 1, 2; Caesar had ten in Gaul, Pompey 24 (or 25?) in Asia. They were expected to be generally useful to the provincial governor—*quorum opera consilioque uteretur peregre magistratus* says Varro; they were *ministri imperii* or *muneris provincialis* MM. II. 650, 658; sometimes they were put in command of detachments of the provincial forces and sometimes exercised jurisdiction.

atque] almost = *atqui* as in § 1. Some editors prefer to read *atqui*.

18 *homicidas*] supply *dicis eos esse* as with *parricidas* above, l. 12, but here, as there, the nominative is found in some MSS.

sequitur ut liberatores] if *liberatores* be accusative we must supply *dicas eos esse*; but, if nominative, supply *sint*, unless indeed we should actually read *liberatores sint tuo*, &c.; some MSS have *sint* after *iudicio*.

§ 32.

21 *diiunctius*] 'somewhat disjunctively', a logical term, cp. § 18 *diiuncta atque contraria*: there is nothing wrong or unusual in the use of the comparative here. Translate freely 'but perhaps you fail to understand statements that are more or less mutually exclusive'. In Acad. II. 97 Cicero gives *aut etiam aut non* 'either yes or no' as an instance of a disjunctive statement.

22 *conclusionis*] another logical term, 'a syllogism', cp. Acad. II. 40, where an example of a *conclusio* is given: *conclusionis* is a kind of

descriptive genitive after *summa* 'this is my ultimate conclusion'. Cicero's syllogism is as follows:—They must be either liberators or parricides: you acquit them of crime (and so admit that they are not parricides): therefore you judge them worthy (as liberators) of the highest rewards.

24 *retexo*] 'undo', 'cancel', cp. Hor. Sat. II. 3. 2 *scriptorum quaeque retexens*. The argument is:—I have been trying to show you that I was not an accomplice or a confidant of the conspirators; I withdraw that line of argument now and am willing to be thought to have had a share in so glorious a deed; I will write and tell them not to deny my complicity if they are asked about it.

ut...ne cui negent] on the use of *ut ne* where the simple *ne* would apparently be sufficient see Madvig Fin. II. 15, Reid Sull. 27.

25 *sitne*] notice *ne* in an indirect interrogation = 'whether'.

26 *celatum*] masculine, agreeing with *me*, 'that I should have been kept in ignorance of it'. Translate 'for I fear that either my being kept in ignorance of the deed was not creditable to themselves, or that my having shirked when invited to participate was most disgraceful to me'. With *celatum* supply mentally some such expression as *hanc rem* or *de hac re*; the two constructions being allowable—*celor hanc rem* or *celor de hac re*.

28 *pro!*] this word may stand by itself as here, or may take an accusative (limited perhaps to the word *fidem*).

30 *commendatior*] followed by dative, in § 1 we had *commendationem ad impios civis*.

31 *consili societatem*] cp. 25 *societate facti*.

§ 33.

p. 13. 2 *quid beatius*] for *quis beatior*; the usual form of expression when the question is not asked with reference to actual persons; contrast Lael. 42 *quis clarior in Graecia Themistocle, quis potentior* where the meaning is 'who (i.e. what actual historical personage) was more illustrious', &c.

3 *relegatos*] Antony's assertion that he had driven out the conspirators is hardly correct. It was rather the dread of popular resentment, inflamed no doubt by Antony's harangues, that led them to leave Rome in April. [*relegatio* is banishment by an arbitrary act, either exercised by a *paterfamilias* against his son or slave or by a magistrate. In the Republic magistrates could only legally expel *peregrini*. The action e.g. of Gabinius when he expelled the *eques* Lamia from Rome was grossly unconstitutional. Cicero represents Antony as boasting that he had dealt with these persons as though they were not entitled to be regarded as citizens. J.S.R.]

4 *affari atque appetere*] 'welcome and court': for the idea cp. Mil. 105 *o terram illam beatam quae hunc virum exceperit*.

5 *qui*]=*ut is*, cp. Fam. XVI. 12 § 4 *bellum paratum est, eiusmodi tamen quod sustinere ille non possit* where *quod*=*ut id*.

7 *quae vero*] *vero* introduces the last member of a series of interrogations, as *denique* often does.

§ 34.

10 *non probes*] 'not approve': Cicero uses this in preference to *improbes* 'disapprove' because it expresses the opposite of approval rather more forcibly: cp. *non inimice* below, l. 19.

si fuissem] the context easily suggests some such addition as *ex eo numero* or *illorum socius*.

12 *stilus*] this means properly a sharp pointed instrument (for *stig-lus* 'a sticker') and usually denotes an instrument for writing on wax tablets, 'a pen', but it seems to have been occasionally used of a dagger, and Cicero here puns on the two senses. M. quotes Hor. Sat. II. 1. 39 *sed hic stilus haud petet ultro | quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis | vagina tectus*, where the commentators refer to Cic. Cluent. 123 *ne censorium stilum cuius mucronem multis remediis maiores nostri rettuderunt aeque posthac atque illum dictatorium gladium pertimescamus*. It is curious that this meaning should not be noticed in LS.

13 *actum*] cp. Hor. A. P. 189 *neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu | fabula quae posci volt et spectanda reponi*, where see Wilkins' note. Cicero regarded three as the normal number of acts in a play, Q. F. I. 1 § 16.

15 *est*] contrast § 29 *si...voluisse interfici Caesarem crimen sit*; in the present passage the clause is not intended by the writer to be any way subordinate, hence he uses the indicative.

16 *Narbone*] Narbo Martius, Narbonne, founded by L. Licinius Crassus in 118.

Trebonio] cp. above, § 17. This took place at the time of Caesar's return from Spain in July or August 45 (Fischer).

17 *cum interficeretur*] this clause is treated as subordinate to the main clause *vidimus te sevocari*, hence the mood.

18 *sevocari*] Plutarch Ant. 13 says the conspirators appointed some of their number to engage Antony in earnest conversation outside the senate house when Caesar entered it.

19 *non inimice*] the reverse of *inimice* is expressed more forcibly thus than by *amice* 'how far from unfriendly': cp. *non probes* in l. 10.

21 *virum res illa quaerebat*] notice the rhetorical skill with which Cicero leads up to this unexpected and scathing taunt.

§ 35.

22 *illud Cassianum*] cp. Rosc. Am. 84 *L. Cassius ille quem populus Romanus verissimum et sapientissimum iudicem putabat identidem in caussis quaerere solebat cui bono fuerit*; Mil. 32. L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, tribune in 137, proposed the *lex Cassia tabellaria*, which introduced voting by ballot in the criminal courts. He was consul in 127. *cui bono fuerit* is literally 'for whom will it have been for a good thing' or briefly 'for whose advantage will it be': *bono* is predicative dative.

24 *servire*] 'to be in bondage', i.e. to Caesar.

26 *aedem Opis*] the temple of Saturn and Ops, in which was placed the public treasury, *aerarium*, to the contents of which Antony had helped himself. Ops was the wife of Saturnus, and Varro says *principes Dei in Latio Saturnus et Ops*. This temple was situated near the foot of the Capitol at the end of the Forum and almost opposite the Temple of Concord. Eight of its columns with entablature architrave and frieze still remain; they are depicted in Burn's Rome and the Campagna, pp. 93, 99.

per easdem tabulas] 'by means of the same account books', i.e. the books relating to the money deposited in the treasury, cp. § 93 *ubi est septiens miliens quod est in tabulis quae sunt ad Opis?*

29 *quaestuosissima officina*] 'a most lucrative manufactory'.

30 *immunitatium*] 'grants of immunity' from various fiscal burdens, purporting to be granted by Caesar; these forged documents were purchased from Antony by townships desiring to possess them.

§ 36.

33 *conturbatus*] Cicero pretends to discern an expression of anxiety in Antony's face: this is of course a mere rhetorical device, all the

more noticeable as the speech was never delivered; cp. § 32 *num conturbo te?*

subtimes] 'have you any lurking fear?' Cicero is fond of compounding words with *sub*. This compound is not quoted from elsewhere.

§ 37.

p. 14. 7 *castra*] Cicero spent some time in Pompey's camp at Dyrrachium in the early summer of 48 before the decisive battle of Pharsalus.

8 *meum consilium auctoritasque*] cp. Att. VIII. 3 § 3 *nihil actum est a Pompeio nostro sapienter, nihil fortiter, addo etiam, nihil nisi contra consilium auctoritatemque meam*, written in Feb. 49. Cicero was opposed to Pompey's leaving Italy and thought that he should have accepted any condition rather than thus abandon his country; he was anxious to take upon himself the office of peacemaker between Caesar and Pompey, but as he sadly says, Att. VIII. 11 § 2 'neither of them makes our happiness his aim, each wishes to reign'

9 *tu hodie egeres*] Cicero is perhaps thinking of the straits to which he and Pompey were reduced at the time in question, cp. Att. XI. 3 § 3 *egeo rebus omnibus, quod is* (*Pompeius*) *quoque in angustiis est quicum sumus*, and VIII. 2 § 3 written in Feb. 49 *vagamur egentes cum coniugibus et liberis*.

12 *maestitia*] Cicero's despondency is attested by Plutarch, Cic. 38 αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγέλαστος ἀεὶ περιιὼν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ σκυθρωπός, and by the tone of his letters to Atticus written from the camp, especially Att. XI. 2 and 4 *me conficit sollicitudo, ex qua etiam summa infirmitas corporis* 'I am being worn out by anxiety, which has produced extreme physical weakness'.

quanta] for the omission of *in* cp. § 27 l. 23.

17 *manens*] equivalent to *si maneret*, to which implied protasis *conficeret* is the apodosis; so too *liberaret* is the apodosis to the protasis *si dimitteretur* implied in the participle *dimissa*.

angoribus] the plural suggests fits or periods of anguish; so used in Off. II 2, where too the same verb *conficere* is used *nec me angoribus dedidi quibus essem confectus nisi eis restitissem*.

18 *praestantissimos*] according to Appian B. C. II. 82 no less than 10 senators and 40 equites fell on Pompey's side in the battle of Pharsalus. Caesar reckons Pompey's total loss at 15,000. He states his own loss to have been 30 centurions and 200 rank and file.

lumina rei publicae] so in Balb. 34 the Scipios are called *duo lumina nostri imperi*, cp. below, § 51 l. 12.

22 *quamvis...pacis*] 'on however unfavourable terms of peace', cp. Att. VII. 13 a § 1 *ut enim alia omittam decem annorum peccata quae condicio non huic fugae praestitit?* VII. 14 § 3 *equidem ad pacem hortari non desino, quae vel iniusta utilior est quam iustissimum bellum cum civibus;* VIII. 11 § 6 *mea quae semper fuerit sententia, primum de pace vel iniqua condicione retinenda...meminisse te arbitror.* These extracts serve to show the earnestness of Cicero's desire for peace.

23 *rem publicam*] 'our free constitution': Caesar and Antony had in Cicero's view all but destroyed the true 'republic'.

§ 38.

24 *ei*] the leaders of the *optimates* headed by Pompey.

26 *ut alia omittam*] i.e. 'not to speak of other advantages that would have ensued'.

27 *at vero*] introducing an objection of Antony.

30 *de summa re publica*] 'about the highest interests of the state': the expression *summa res publica* is not uncommon, cp. Cat. I. 14, Sest. 24, &c. Sometimes we find *summa rei publicae*, where *summa* is a feminine substantive, as in Planc. 52.

31 *consuetudine amicitiae*] 'friendly intercourse'.

32 *ego, quid ille*] that is *ego videbam quid ille sentiret et spectaret*; these verbs are readily supplied by the reader from the corresponding verbs in the following clause: so in the next sentence *consulebam* has to be supplied with *ego* from the following *consulebat.* This kind of ellipse is fully illustrated by Draeger Hist. Synt. 1^2, p. 215 who quotes Ov. Her. XIII. 40 *ipsa novas vestes, dura vir arma ferat.*

p. 15. 2 *habebat quid sequeretur*] 'knew what he was following', 'knew what his aim was'; in such a phrase *habere* has almost the force of *scire*: slightly different is *habebat quod sequeretur* 'had something to follow', 'had a definite aim'. The distinction is clearly expressed by Holden on Cic. Off. II. 7: cp. Div. Caec. 10 *ut in constituendo accusatore quid sequi possitis habeatis.*

§ 39.

5 *de Pharsalia fuga*] 'immediately after the flight from Pharsalus', almost equivalent to 'in the flight from Pharsalus'; cp. the common phrase *de nocte* 'from night', meaning almost the same as our 'at night': *de* marks the starting-point of an action either in space or in time. Pharsālus was a town in Thessaly, now called Fersala, about 25 miles south of Larissa. [The adjective *Pharsalius* is doubtful in Cicero; either read *Pharsalica* or *Pharsalo*, in the latter case taking *fuga* closely with *persecuti sunt.* J.S.R.]

Paphum] after the battle of Pharsalus Pompey proceeded to Macedonia, embarked at Amphipolis and sailed to Mytilene; thence he journeyed by land to Cilicia and crossed over to Paphus in Cyprus. From Cyprus he intended to go to Antioch, but, learning that the inhabitants would not receive him, he sailed to Pelusium in Egypt. He had no sooner stepped out of the boat that conveyed him from the ship to the shore than he was murdered by Achillas, one of the officers of king Ptolemaeus, and L. Septimius, a Roman tribune who had served under him in the pirate war. Caes. B. C. III. 102—104.

7 *vidisse plus*] 'had shown greater foresight'.

8 *et*] introducing an indignant question, 'and then': so in § 51 *et tu...contra me dicere ausus es;* § 110 *et tu in Caesaris memoria diligens?*

9 *sectorem*] cp. Phil. XIII. 30 *utrum igitur aequius, utrum melius rei publicae fuit Cn. Pompeium an sectorem Cn. Pompei vivere Antonium?* The term *sector* is used of one who purchases at a sale of confiscated property, *qui bona publica mercatur.* Pompey's property was confiscated by the state and put up to auction.

11 *iocis*] a few of Cicero's caustic remarks are given by Plutarch Cic. 38. Antony seems to have reproached Cicero with joking at a time of great trouble and distress, to which Cicero replies that such relaxation is harmless and agreeable to the impulses of human nature. In a letter to Curio Fam. II. 4 written in 53 he expresses himself differently and perhaps less wisely, *iocerne tecum per litteras? civem mehercule non puto esse qui temporibus his ridere possit.*

12 *quidem*] concessive, 'it is true', followed as is usual by an adversative clause.

13 *verum tamen...tamen*] *verum tamen* correlates with the virtually concessive clause *erant quidem...curae* 'true, that camp was full of anxiety, yet notwithstanding' &c.: then the second *tamen* correlates with the second subordinate concessive clause *quamvis in turbidis rebus sint* 'in however harassed a situation they may be, yet' &c.

14 *si modo homines sunt*] 'if only they have any human feeling': cp. the well-known line *homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

interdum] 'allow themselves occasional mental relaxation'.

§ 40.

18 *hereditatem*] 'you have denied that any inheritance comes to me': the taunt implies that Cicero's contemporaries did not respect him sufficiently to leave him anything in their wills. See M's note.

20 *amplius sestertium ducentiens*] 20,000,000 sesterces, nearly £170,000. On the amount received by Cicero by inheritance cp. Prof. Tyrrell, Correspondence of Cicero I. Introd. p. xxxviii. foll.; he regards the statement in the text as a 'rhetorical hyperbole'; Forsyth, Life of Cicero p. 66 foll. It was no uncommon thing for wealthy Romans to leave large bequests to their friends, and Cicero as a popular and successful advocate was particularly fortunate in this respect.

21 *acceptum rettuli*] 'entered as received'; cp. note on § 12 end.

22 *in hoc genere*] 'in such matters'; lit. 'in this class' of things; the defining genitive is very frequently omitted after *genus*.

23 *ut*] 'so that', 'the result being that': this seems to be the force of the *ut* in a disputed passage of Horace, Ep. II. 2. 87 *frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut alter alterius sermone meros audiret honores* 'there were two brothers at Rome, one a rhetorician, the other a lawyer, the result being that the one heard nothing but compliments from the mouth of the other'. I believe the passage to be free from corruption, but see Prof. Wilkins' note. Cp. below § 73 *ut doleremus*.

si quod erat] 'whatever it was', 'such as it was'.

25 *L. Rubrius*] mentioned again in §§ 74, 103: nothing farther is known of him.

Casinas] of Casinum, a town in Latium. Here was afterwards founded the monastery of Monte Casino by St Benedict, A.D. 529 (M).

§ 41.

26 *albus aterne*] 'whether he was white or black': a proverbial way of speaking, implying that nothing is known of a person; see examples in LS., s. v. '*albus*'. Observe that the disjunctive formula 'whether...or' is here expressed merely by the addition of the enclitic *ne* to the second member of the disjunction; this usage is rare, Draeger II². 466 quotes three other instances from Cicero.

27 *Q. Fufi*] supply *filium*: nothing is known of him. Rubrius passed over his nephew and the son of Fufius, both of whom had superior claims to his property, in favour of Antony.

28 *sui*] genitive after *amicissimi* 'a very great friend of himself'—or as we should say, 'of his own'.

quem...factitarat] 'whom in public he had always given out as his heir'.

29 *nominat*] very probably Cicero wrote *nominavit*, cp. *praeteriit* and *fecit*. J.S.R.

30 *nisi molestum est*] for the indicative, cp. § 24 l. 20 *ea velim reprehendas, si potes*. The phrase is a formula of mock politeness, cp. Acad. I. 14 (Reid); 'if I am not troubling you too much'.

31 *L. Turselius*] an unknown person, mentioned again in § 103.

p. 16. 2 *tamquam*] this and *tamquam si* are used indifferently; cp. § 106 *tamquam si esset* (*consul*).

§ 42.

3 *admiratus sum*] 'I was surprised': even in modern English the word 'admire' is sometimes used in this sense, as by Dickens, "Mrs Chick admires that Edith should be by nature such a perfect Dombey".

4 *hereditatum*] this and *hereditatium* appear to be admissible forms of the genitive.

5 *patris*] cp. the speech concocted by Dio Cassius XLV. 18—47 τοιγαροῦν τῶν μὲν ἐκείνου χρημάτων οὐκ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἄλλων δὲ δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλοὺς, τοὺς μὲν μήτ' ἰδὼν μήτ' ἀκούσας πώποτε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶντας (47); cp. XLVI. 14. Antony's father was far too generous for the small means at his disposal and had to be kept in check by his more frugal wife, Plut. Ant. I.

non adisses] *adire hereditatem* is the usual phrase for 'to enter on' or 'take possession of an inheritance'. [*non adisses hereditatem* 'refused to accept the inheritance' absolutely implies that Antony *was* made heir by his father. But the *hereditas* being *damnosa*, the liabilities being more than the assets, Antony declined, thus fixing on his father the stigma of bankruptcy. Roman feeling required that every sacrifice should be made by the heir to avert this disgrace—see an interesting letter of Pliny II. 4. Cicero only means to imply that Antony was dead to the ordinary sentiment about family honour; he showed it too by what is mentioned in § 44. J.S.R.]

7 *in aliena villa*] the villa of Q. Metellus Scipio, who was Pompey's father-in-law, and his colleague in the consulship of 52: cp. Fam. XII. 2 § 1 *cum in villa Metelli compluris dies commentatus esset; quae autem...in vino commentatio potuit esse?*

8 *exhalandi*] cp. § 30 l. 33: there are some indications that this word should be spelt without the *h*.

10 *suffragio...rhetorem*] cp. § 8 *homo diserte, ut Tironi et Mustelae iam esse videris.*

11 *omnino*] 'by all means' used concessively: 'a witty man no doubt'.

12 *dicta dicere*] 'to utter witticisms'; this is a common meaning of *dicta*, cp. Planc. 85 *admonuisti etiam, quod in Creta fuisses, dictum aliquod in petitionem tuam dici potuisse.*

dicere] what grammarians call an epexegetic infinitive, following the substantive *materia*, and equivalent to a genitive case: Cicero might have written *materia dictorum dicendorum* (or *dicendi*), cp. Livy, I. 22 *materiam excitandi belli quaerebat.* This kind of infinitive is not common; R. § 1360, Draeg. II^2. § 445.

13 *avom*] M. Antonius born 143, consul 99, slain in the proscription of the adherents of Sulla by Marius and Cinna 87. See Brut. 139—142 for Cicero's judgement of him as an orator.

sensim] 'with deliberation' opposed to *cursim* 'glibly'.

§ 43.

16 *duo milia iugerum*] if we reckon a *iugerum* as $\frac{5}{8}$ths of an acre—a slightly exaggerated estimate—this would amount to 1250 acres.

17 *Leontini*] the town of Leontini, now Lentini, was situated between Catana and Syracuse; the land was very fertile and was a part of the domain land (*publicus ager*) of the Roman people.

et quidem] 'and that too'.

18 *tanta mercede*] 'at such a cost' to the Roman people.

nihil sapere] cp. § 19 l. 9.

20 *alio loco*] § 101.

23 *emendatore et correctore*] Cicero likes to join these words; cp. Balb. 20 *correctorem atque emendatorem nostrae civitatis*; Acad. I. 13 *recentissima quaeque sunt correcta et emendata maxime*; Leg. III. 30 *emendari et corrigi* (*solet civitas*) *continentia*; so too Tac. Hist. I. 38 *castra emendata et correcta*, and other writers.

24 *effundam*] 'I will not squander all my arguments'.

§ 44.

28 *a puero*] 'from boyhood': Caes. B. G. IV. 1 has *a pueris*, and Cic. Arch. 4 *ex pueris*, a solitary instance, which may be compared with the Greek ἐκ παίδων.

sic, opinor] 'that, I think, is the way': in colloquial Latin, such as this is here, *sic* was sometimes used almost in the sense of 'yes'.

29 *praetextatum*] while still a youth, wearing the *toga praetexta*, i.e. a toga with a purple fringe or edge: this was exchanged at an age which cannot be definitely fixed, varying from the 15th to the 17th year, for the *toga virilis* (see below) the assumption of which marked an important epoch in the life of the Roman youth and corresponded somewhat to our 'coming of age'. The purple broidered robe worn by the higher magistrates was also called *toga praetexta*.

30 *decoxisse*] properly 'to boil away', hence used in sense of 'fritter away', 'squander', and so the word acquired the special sense 'to run through one's property', 'become bankrupt'.

ista] *iste* here retains its ordinary sense, see note on § 8 l. 10: 'that fault of which you (Cicero) speak'.

31 *etenim*] 'and indeed'.

pietatis] 'filial affection'; this is of course ironical.

illud] notice the omission of the substantive verb *est* or *erat*; this is very common in short clauses of this nature, especially when they contain the pronouns *ille* or *hic*.

32 *quattuordecim ordinibus*] the front fourteen rows in the theatre were appropriated by the lex Roscia, carried by the tribune L. Roscius Otho, B.C. 67, to the *equites*, the orchestra seats being assigned to the senators. His enactment probably only restored an old custom, cp. Mur. 40 *equestri ordini restituit non solum dignitatem sed etiam voluptatem.* If Antony was born in 83 he was 16 at the passing of this law, and it does not seem likely that a boy of this age who had not yet assumed the *toga virilis* would be expected because of his youthful extravagance to take his seat among the declared bankrupts (*decoctores*).

33 *quamvis*] 'however much', not quite the same as *quamquam* 'although'.

p. 17. 1 *virilem togam*] the toga of manhood, sometimes called *toga pura* because plain and unadorned, assumed by young Romans at about the age of 16; see above.

2 *Curio*] see note on § 3 l. 16. At an earlier period Curio had been held in high esteem by the *optimates*, and by Cicero in particular, who addressed several letters to him Fam. II. 1—7, but that was before B. C. 50, in which year Caesar purchased his adherence by the payment of his debts, a transaction to which Lucan refers in the well-known line *momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum* (Phars. IV. 793—824); cp. Att VI. 3 § 4.

intervenit] 'appeared on the scene'.

§ 45.

4 *pater*] C. Scribonius Curio; see note on § 12 l. 24.

domu] an admissible form of the ablative, though *domo* is more common: *domu sua* is the reading of the best MS in Verr. II. 5. 128.

6 *mercede*] 'pay': because Curio, in spite of his father's wishes, was unwilling to forego his intimacy with Antony and used to make him presents of money.

demitterere] almost in middle sense, 'let yourself down'.

10 *te*] this, not *se*, must be the right reading. The younger Curio besought Cicero to defend Antony against the elder Curio, in case the latter should sue Antony for the 6,000,000 sesterces, roughly speaking £50,000, that his son who was still under the *patria potestas* had improperly advanced to him: the word *petere* points to a process of law, and cannot be referred to a merely private request. J.S.R.

12 *intercessisse*] 'to such an extent did he say that he had pledged his credit on your behalf'; cp. Att. VI. 1 § 5 *ascribit...intercessisse se pro eis magnam pecuniam*.

13 *amore ardens*] 'in his passionate affection for you'.

confirmabat] 'assured me'.

desiderium tui discidi] 'the pain of separation from you'; lit. the yearning for you of (i.e. caused by) your separation from him.

§ 46.

15 *florentissimae familiae*] *familia* is not used here in the restricted sense so common in English of the members, parents and children, forming a single household, but in the wider sense in which we sometimes use it, as when we say 'he belongs to the family of the Howards'. The young Curio, his father and his grandfather, were all men of mark and ability, cp. Plin. N. H. VII. 41 *una familia Curionum in qua tres continua serie oratores exstiterunt*.

17 *praeditum*] we should omit this in translating and render 'a youth of the highest promise in spirit and natural gifts': cp. Off. I. 74 *in magnis animis ingeniisque*, Vell. Pat. II. 112 § 7 *mira pravitate animi atque ingeni*.

18 *facultatibus*] if the text be sound, which I doubt, *facultatibus* is instrumental ablative going with *redimeret* 'redeem (from bondage to you) by drawing on his household resources'. [Dr Reid suggests *a rei familiaris difficultatibus* 'from his domestic embarrassments', remarking that the context leads us to expect a statement of that from which Curio was rescued, not a tame repetition of the idea already expressed in *aes alienum dissolveret*.]

20 *quos videmus*] in reading these graphic touches remember that the speech was never delivered, cp. 36 *nescio quid conturbatus esse videris*.

§ 47.

25 *verecundo*] 'modest': *modestus* very seldom admits of being translated 'modest', never in Ciceronian latin.

27 *perstringam*] 'touch on'.

29 *festinat animus*] cp. Phil. I. 3 *ad singulare enim M. Antoni factum festinat oratio*.

30 *ut facitis*] 'as you are doing'; another graphic touch, compare the famous touch in Verr. II. 4. 5 *sed earum artificem—quem? quemnam? recte admones; Polycletum esse dicebant*, which is often referred to by later writers. *facere* here represents *attente audire*: for a harsh instance of this use of *facere* cp. Caes. B. G. VII. 42 *Aristium...ex oppido educunt; idem facere cogunt eos qui...ibi constiterant* where *facere = exire ex oppido* which has to be supplied from the previous *ex oppido educunt*.

32 *incidamus*] 'cut short': for the parenthetic *opinor* accompanying the concessive subjunctive cp. Reid on Acad. II. 29.

§ 48.

p. 18. 1 *qui*] the antecedent of *qui* is of course the subject of *erat*, i.e. Antonius. Clodius was tribune in B. C. 58.

2 *eius*] 'Antony was the torch that kindled all the conflagrations fomented by Clodius'.

3 *quiddam*] what the 'something' was Cicero does not expressly state, merely adding that Antony would understand the reference. No doubt he refers to some intrigue with Clodius' wife, Fulvia, whom Antony

afterwards married. At the end of 58, fearing to be implicated in the downfall of Clodius and pressed by his creditors, he proceeded to Greece but was invited thence by Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, who gave him a command. Plut. Ant. 2, 3.

4 *iter Alexandream*] it is not clear whether *iter* is nominative or accusative, that is, whether the suppressed verb is *erat* or *fecit*; the question is immaterial, and possibly Cicero himself had not the distinction clearly present to his mind when writing. *Alexandream* is the accusative after the idea of 'motion towards' implied by *iter*, cp. Pacuvius X. (22) 173 (Ribbeck Trag. fragm.), *nam solus Danais hic domum itionem dedit*, so too Cic. Div. I. 68, and Caes. B. G. I. 5 *domum reditionis.* It was apparently in 55 that Antony went to Alexandria.

contra senatus auctoritatem] Ptolemy Auletes had been forced by popular discontent to quit his kingdom and had to come to Rome, where proposals were made that he should be restored by force of arms, but the senate refused to aid him. At last Ptolemy tried to induce Gabinius, who was in Syria, by an enormous bribe to espouse his cause; Antony anxious to distinguish himself joined his entreaties, and Gabinius then consented, *καίτοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἀπεψηφισμένων* says Dio XXXIX 55; the law too forbade provincial governors to quit their provinces or undertake war without special authorisation, Dio XXXIX. 56. But Gabinius no doubt acted under the direction of the triumvirs, Pompey, Crassus and Caesar. Momms. IV. 159 foll.

5 *religiones*] according to the superstitious Dio the Sibyl forbade the restoration of Ptolemy, and the Gods showed their displeasure after the event by a great inundation of the Tiber: cp. Fam. I. 1 and 2 where Cicero speaks of the religious objection (*religio*).

6 *quicum...posset*] the precise shade of meaning intended is not clear, but the general sense is evident, that Cicero considered them both bad characters and well suited to each other. The year after this Cicero defended Gabinius on a charge of extortion.

posset] consecutive subjunctive in relative clause.

7 *qui...reditus?*] cp. 76 *qui vero Narbone reditus?*

Galliam] Antony not venturing to return home hastened to Caesar in northern Gaul after the second expedition to Britain, towards the end of 54. The verb *rediit* or something similar may be easily supplied.

tum] before the confiscations (HM.).

10 *domum dico?*] cp. note on § 25 l. 9.

11 *Misenum*] cp. Att. X. 8 end, XIV. 20 § 2; Antony appears to have had an estate there.

Sisaponem] a town in Spain where were some red lead mines worked by companies (*societates*). The usual explanation of this obscure passage is that Cicero here implies that Antony's creditors occupied Misenum jointly with himself, as though it were some mercantile concern in which they had shares: cp. § 73.

§ 49.

13 *venisti*] in B.C. 53.

14 *parentem*] on his arrival from Gaul, Antony hurried at once to Cicero to secure his influence in his candidature for the quaestorship before paying a visit to his mother Julia, who probably lived at Misenum.

15 *ut*] *acceperam litteras* implies a request, hence the use of *ut.*

satis fieri] 'that I should allow satisfaction to be rendered me by you', i.e. that I should accept your expression of regret for past offences:—no doubt in reference to Antony's intimacy with Clodius, cp. § 48.

17 *sum cultus*] notice omission of *ego*, which might be thought requisite to balance the following *tu a me.*

18 *P. Clodium*] cp. above § 21.

23 *demiror*] 'I cannot imagine'.

25 *quamquam...gratiam*] Cicero means, my reason for not exhorting you to slay Clodius was that if you persisted in the design I preferred that the deed should be set down to your credit rather than to my influence.

§ 50.

27 *sine senatus consulto*] apparently a senatorial decree was first passed that certain of the twenty quaestors should be appointed to such provinces as required a quaestor to assist in their administration; the assignment of the particular province to the particular quaestor was then made by lot, *sorte*: cp. MM. II. 501, note 1; Cic. Verr. II. I. 34 *quaestor ex senatus consulto sortitus es.*

28 *sine lege*] without any special enactment ratified by the people.

ad Caesarem] Att. VI. 6 *Pompeius...Q. Cassium sine sorte delegit, Caesar Antonium.*

29 *perditis vitae rationibus*] 'when all means of livelihood were squandered'.

31 *si hoc est explere*] 'if that is glutting yourself, (appropriating) a thing only to fling it away again directly'. A verb has no doubt been lost after *explere*; Faernus followed by HM. supplies *haurire*, Dr Reid suggests *sorbere*, others *eripere* or *corripere*.

32 *tribunatum*] Antony entered on his office as tribune 10 Dec. 50, on the 23rd he delivered a speech containing a violent tirade against Pompey, cp. Att. VII. 8 § 5 *habebamus autem in manibus Antoni contionem habitam X. Kal. Ianuar., in qua erat accusatio Pompei usque a toga pura*.

33 *viri tui*] Curio, whom Suetonius calls *violentissimus tribunorum*, Caes. 29.

p. 19. 2 *domesticum decus*] 'the decency of private life'.

3 *id est*] 'or rather', used correctively, for which see Reid on Acad. I. 5.

4 *fecerit*] M. suggests *fecit*: had Cicero put the verb at the end of the first clause directly after *intemperanter* the definiteness of the words *ea quae* 'those things which' would probably have led him to write *fecit*, but as the sentence goes on this precision vanishes and *accipite...quae...fecerit* becomes equivalent to 'I will tell you what he has done', in a sentence of which kind the subjunctive would be usual: cp. Att. VII. 13 § 3 *qui sermo fuerit et quid actum sit scribam ad te*.

§ 51.

6 *Kal. Ian.*] B.C. 49.

8 *C. Caesari*] it was on this day that Curio handed to the new consuls Caesar's letter, wherein he offered to disband his army if Pompey would likewise disband his. Many thought that Caesar's overtures should be accepted, but the senate overawed by Pompey and his troops finally decided that Caesar should be compelled to give way. Caes. B. C. I—6, Momms. IV. 376.

9 *emancipatum*] cp. Hor. Epod. IX. 9 *emancipatus feminae*, Reid on Cic. Sen. § 38. Translate 'sold and enslaved to Caesar'; in § 52 Cicero speaks of Antony's *vendita atque addicta sententia*.

10 *cervices*] the singular *cervix* does not occur in Cicero.

securi] the decree mentioned in the next sentence.

12 *id decrevit*] the form of the decree was *dent operam consules praetores tribuni plebis quique pro consulibus sint ad urbem ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat* Caes. B. C. I. 5 and 7. This took place on 7 Jan. 49.

et quidem incolumis] 'and that too before it had suffered any losses'; this is more clearly explained by the following clause *nondum* &c.

luminibus] cp. § 37 l. 18.

13 *hostem togatum*] 'a citizen enemy' as opposed to a foreign enemy. Caes. B. C. I. 7 says that whenever this decree had been passed before it had been *factum in perniciosis legibus, in vi tribunicia, in secessione populi templis locisque editioribus occupatis*.

14 *et*] introducing an indignant question, cp. §§ 39, 110.

16 *iudicatus*] supply *esses* from the preceding *essem*.

commemoratio] 'mention' here as elsewhere opposed to *memoria* 'recollection'.

19 *intercessio*] Antony as tribune interposed his veto three or four times against the resolution of the senate that Caesar should give up his provinces and disband his army, but the intercession was disallowed by the consul Lentulus, Dio XLI. 2, Plut. Ant. 5, App. B. C. II. 33; cp. Caes. B. C. I. 5 *nec tribunis plebis sui periculi deprecandi neque etiam extremi iuris intercessione retinendi quod L. Sulla reliquerat facultas tribuitur*.

§ 52.

20 *cupide*] 'with party spirit': instances of a like meaning in *cupidus*, *cupiditas* are collected by Holden on Cic. Planc. 43.

21 *adulescens*] Antony was about 34 at the time: *unus* is not strictly correct, as Q. Cassius Longinus joined with Antony in his intervention.

23 *tecum agi*] *agere cum aliquo de aliqua re* is to treat with a person about something, to discuss it with him in the hope of coming to some agreement. Antony would not enter into any such discussion.

24 *nisi ne velles*] 'except that you should not desire', 'except the frustration of your desire'.

26 *frequens*] 'crowded'. The senate at this time probably consisted of from 500 to 600 members; we read of 417 being present at a meeting in B. C. 57, and of 392 at a meeting in 50, the magistrates (44 in number) being in each case excluded. Willems, Le Sénat de la République Romaine I. 405.

vendita atque addicta] 'sold and surrendered' i.e. to Caesar, cp. above § 51 *venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum*: *addictus* is used of a debtor who is given over in bondage to his creditor.

28 *volnus*] the decree mentioned above *dent operam consules* &c.

30 *imperiis et potestatibus*] the power is put for the person exercising it,

as sometimes in English when we speak of 'the powers that be', cp. Luke xii. 11, 'and when they bring you unto the synagogues and unto magistrates and powers'. The distinction between *imperiis* and *potestatibus* may perhaps be represented by 'military and civil powers', though it must be remembered that *potestas* could be used of military as well as civil powers.

31 *contulisses*] the two tribunes Antony and Cassius were driven from the senate house and fled from Rome to Caesar at Ravenna; with them went Curio and Caelius.

§ 53.

p. 20. 1 *omnia perturbare*] 'to create general confusion', so we find *omnia miscere, permiscere, confundere*.

2 *quid...dicebat*] 'why, did not Caesar himself say so?'

3 *intercessio neglecta*] Caesar says (B. C. I. 7) that in his address to the troops at Ravenna he complained *novom in re publica introductum exemplum ut tribunicia intercessio armis notaretur atque opprimeretur*. he reminded them *Sullam nudata omnibus rebus tribunicia potestate tamen intercessionem liberam reliquisse; Pompeium, qui amissa restituisse videatur, etiam quae ante habuerint ademisse*.

4 *circumscriptus*] 'circumscribed', 'thwarted'; the word is so used elsewhere of the impeding of a magistrate's action, cp. Caes. B. C. I. 32 *crudelitatem et insolentiam* (*inimicorum praedicat Caesar*) *in circumscribendis tribunis plebis*; Cic. Phil. XIII. 19.

7 *de Caesare*] sc. *loquor* or *loquar*.

8 *persona tua*] Cicero generally has *consistere in aliqua re* but the simple ablative is found in the best MS here and in Phil. III. 19 *cum eo salus...consisteret*, where, as here, the later MSS insert *in*. Perhaps it should be inserted in both passages, as it might easily have fallen out in the latter after *cum* or *cũ*, in the former after *belli*, especially if it were written ī.

§ 54.

10 *memoriae...prodi*] beware of translating these as if they were perfects.

13 *quod*] by attraction for *qui*, cp. Phil. V. 39 *Pompeio enim patre, quod imperio populi Romani lumen fuit, exstincto interfectus est patris simillimus filius* and other instances quoted by HM.

decus ac lumen] the same phrase is used of Brutus in Phil. XI. 24.

14 *exsequi*] to follow after for the purpose of taking part in; cp. Att. IX. 12 § 1 *cur non omnes fatum illius* (*Pompei*) *exsecuti sumus?*

15 *fugam*] Cicero in his letters often speaks of the exodus of the Pompeian party from Rome in the beginning of the year 49 as a shameful flight, though he here speaks as if they had been driven out by force of arms, cp. Att. VII. 11 § 4; 12 § 2; 13 A § 1; Dio XLI. 7 who says the fugitives *ἦσαν πάντες, ὡς εἰπεῖν, οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππάδος καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῦ ὁμίλου*, Plut. Pomp. 61; Mommsen IV. 392.

17 *expulsam atque exterminatam*] cp. Mil. 101 *haec tanta virtus ex hac urbe expelletur exterminabitur proicietur*: notice that Cicero here omits the preposition *ex* before *suis sedibus* contrary to his usual custom. Draeger 1². p. 515 qu. Cic. N. D. I. 63 *urbe atque agro est exterminatus* as an isolated instance, overlooking this passage. [*ex suis* would very likely get written *essuis* and then *suis*. J.S.R.]

§ 55.

19 *stirpium*] 'shrubs', mentioned with *arbores* also in Fam. V. 33.

20 *tris*] at Pharsalus, Thapsus and Munda.

25 *accepta referemus Antonio*] cp. note on § 12 end.

Helena] Plutarch Ant. 6 commenting on this assertion of Cicero says that he is *περιφανῶς ψευδόμενος*.

27 *omnia perfecit*] 'he succeeded in carrying everything that the senate, while the republic was yet intact, had succeeded in preventing'.

29 *tamen*] yet wicked as he was there were acts of peculiar infamy in his general course of wickedness; this expresses the force of the *tamen*.

§ 56.

30 *calamitosos*] *calamitas* is sometimes used of a condemnation in a court of law, so here Cicero refers to persons exiled or otherwise punished for some offence; cp. Sull. 22 where *innocentis* is opposed to *calamitosos*.

patrui] C. Antonius Hybrida, Cicero's colleague in the consulship, cp. 98. He was charged with conspiracy and extortion and was sent into exile. M. Antonius neglected to restore him in 49, the year of his tribuneship, when his influence with Caesar would probably have allowed of his doing so: he was finally restored by Caesar, probably in 47, and was present in the senate on 1 Jan. 44, cp. § 99.

33 *alea*] gambling was forbidden by the laws, cp. Hor. Od. III. 24. 58 *vetita legibus alea*. Nothing is known of Denticula.

restituit] not from exile, otherwise the following remark *quasi vero... liceret* would have no point, but to his full civic status, cp. below *in integrum restituit*, from which it appears that *infamia* or loss of certain political rights attended condemnation on a charge of gambling; see SDA. *alea*.

p. 21. 1 *sed ut*] put briefly for *sed restituit ut* 'but he restored him in order that', &c. Antony cancelled his 'debts of honour' by the restoration of his creditor.

2 *legis*] a law permitting the restoration of the condemned: the phrase *beneficio legis*, 'thanks to' a particular law, is almost a technical one: cp. *sortium beneficio* Caes. B. G. I. 53, *legis praemio* Acad. II. § 1, Reid.

3 *absentem credo*] Cicero proceeds to give a list of imaginary reasons for Denticula's restoration: *credo* marks the ironical supposition. To institute a prosecution against a person in his absence, if he were absent on public business, was contrary to the principles of Roman law: in the case of a private individual sufficient time would be allowed him.

4 *rem iudicatam*] 'that judgement was given without the accused being heard in his own defence': the word *indictus*, the negative of *dictus*, is chiefly used in this formula *indicta caussa*.

5 *nullum...iudicium*] 'that the judgement concerning gambling was no judgement by the terms of the statute', i.e. was invalid. J. S. R.

7 *corruptum*] 'invalidated'.

8 *nihil*] *nihil* may perhaps be here regarded as an adverbial accusative 'in no respect'.

quoniam...est] 'since the mere fact of his having been condemned goes for nothing'; because an innocent man may be condemned.

10 *in foro alea ludere*] an act of the highest indecorum, as we at Cambridge might say 'play cards in the senate house': similar expressions are Off. III. 75 *in foro, mihi crede, saltaret*, § 90, I. 145 *in foro cantet*.

12 *is non...profitetur*] 'does he not unblushingly (*apertissime*) declare his own likings?'

§ 57.

13 *Hispaniam*] Caesar set out for Spain in the spring of 49, leaving Antony, who had entered on his tribuneship on 10 Dec. 50, to superintend his interests in Italy with the title of 'propraetor'.

15 *peragratio*] a word that seems not to occur elsewhere, though the verb *peragrare* is common: 'how disgraceful was his style of travelling'.

The two genitives *eius* and *itinerum*, each depending on *peragratio*, should be noticed, cp. Caes. B. G. I. 19 *sine eius offensione animi*, III. 18, and II. 17 where three genitives occur *eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta*.

itinerum] observe that *iter* is never used to express the actual material road or highway, as *via* is; e.g. you must say *Appia via* not *Appium iter*: *iter* always means 'route', 'march', 'way', 'journey', &c.

lustratio municipiorum!] 'in what style did he visit the municipal towns!' the word *lustratio* in this sense of 'going about visiting' is very rare.

16 *rebus...sermone*] 'themes of constant and universal discussion'.

18 *qui non fui*] Cicero left Rome on 17 Jan. 49 and did not return till the end of 47.

19 *satis facere*] 'attain to the level' of your knowledge.

21 *auditum est*] note that *auditum* does not agree with *flagitium*, but *auditum est* 'it has been heard' (by us) is used impersonally, and is followed by the accusative and infinitive interrogative clause *quod tantum flagitium exstitisse*; that this is the construction is shown more clearly by the following accusative *turpitudinem*.

§ 58.

23 *essedo*] the name (Keltic in origin) of a kind of two-wheeled vehicle with which the Romans first became acquainted in Gaul or Germany where the natives used them in war. They were drawn by a pair of horses; Antony is said to have had his drawn by lions.

tribunus] 'though tribune': it was an act of extravagance in a tribune who ought to set an example of simplicity to travel in a carriage.

lictores laureati] a tribune had no right to have lictors; it was as propraetor that Antony employed them, a fact which Cicero conveniently disregards: whether he was justified in allowing them to be *laureati*, i.e. to have laurel on their *fasces*, a privilege reserved for the lictors of consuls or other high magistrates who had gained a victory, may fairly be doubted.

24 *aperta*] with the curtains open, compare the opposite *operta lectica* in § 106.

25 *honesti*] 'respectable'.

26 *nomine*] she was known on the stage as Cytheris: on this occasion she adopted the more dignified Roman name Volumnia, which she may

have gained as the manumitted slave of P. Volumnius Eutrapelus, a friend of Antony.

28 *municipia*] originally communities of persons who were not full burgesses of Rome but possessed most of the rights of citizens except the *ius suffragi* and *honoris* (suffrage and holding office). But at this time they were practically on the same footing as the *coloniae*. They were governed by four magistrates constituting a *collegium*, of whom two were called *quattuorviri iuri dicundo* and the other two *quattuorviri aediles*. MM. IV. 479.

praefecturas] towns governed by a *praefectus iuri dicundo* sent annually from Rome by the *praetor urbanus*.

colonias] more fully *coloniae civium Romanorum*, colonies of Roman citizens with full burgess rights. They were governed by two commissioners *duoviri iuri dicundo* (sometimes called *quattuorviri* see note above on *municipia*) and two others called *duoviri aediles*. Most of the Italian towns fall under one or other of the three classes here mentioned,

29 *impressit*] 'he imprinted the traces of these crimes on every municipal town', &c. For the metaphor, cp. Verr. II. 1. 62 *ecquo in oppido pedem posuit, ubi non plura...flagitiorum suorum quam adventus sui vestigia reliquerit?* Fam. V. 20 § 5 *quae cum viderem tot vestigiis impressa*.

§ 59.

32 *felix*] cp. Cic. (?) fragm. 219, 4 (Nobbe) *neque enim quicquam aliud est felicitas, nisi honestarum rerum prosperitas, vel, ut alio modo definiam, felicitas est fortuna adiutrix consiliorum bonorum: quibus qui non utitur, felix esse nullo pacto potest*. Cp. below, § 64.

33 *veteranis*] Cicero naturally did not wish to say anything to injure the veterans who had fought on Caesar's side. It was enough that the leaders should suffer. The argument of the whole sentence, which at first sight is a little obscure, is 'I don't want you to make me ill friends with the veterans whose interests I wish to have secured, and so I won't say anything about the character of the war you engaged in—though after all, their case is very different from yours—they followed their leader, you sought a leader'. Phil. I. 6 *veterani qui appellabantur quibus hic ordo diligentissime caverat*.

p. 22. 3 *e Thessalia*] after the battle of Pharsalus. Antony returned from this campaign with a detachment of troops to Italy by Brundisium, where he met with Cicero, who during the campaign in Thessaly had

been staying at Dyrrachium, whence shortly after the decisive battle he returned to Brundisium.

4 *non occidisti*] cp. § 5 l. 30, note.

§ 60.

8 *patriae*] objective genitive 'affection for one's country'.

11 *sit*] 'because, as you remind me, it was not taken by you'; hence the subjunctive; contrast the previous clause *quod non ademisti* 'which (as a fact) you did not take'.

licuitne] 'did your insolent language suffer me to cherish this benefit of yours as I did cherish it, and that too though you saw that you would hear such words as these from me?' the meaning is that Antony by his insolence had done his best to efface from Cicero's mind the recollection of the service that he had done him. '*praesertim cum* refers to *per tuas contumelias*; affronts which were the more wanton, as you knew that I could retaliate'. HM.

12 *tueri*] = *memori mente colere* (Heusinger).

praesertim cum] 'and that though', a very common meaning of the words; for a good instance cp. Phil. VIII. 5 *C. quidem Caesar non exspectavit vestra decreta, praesertim cum illud esset aetatis*. 'Caesar did not wait for your decrees, and that too though he was so young'.

§ 61.

19 *tot dierum viam*] this probably means that she travelled from Rome to Brundisium to meet Antony; this would take from 13 to 15 days, the distance being about 370 miles. See Prof. Palmer's remarks on Horace's well-known journey, Sat. I. 5. 103.

qui non] Cicero might have written *quin* here and before *viderit*, and also *quin scierit*, but wishing to negative the verb strongly, he prefers *qui non*: the difference may be seen in English 'who was there *but* (*quin*) saw her?', 'who was there *who* did *not* (*qui non*) see her?'

indoluerit] *indolesco* was not much used in the Ciceronian period.

§ 62.

21 *percursatio*] a rare word, perhaps only found here and § 100.

22 *deductio*] *deducere* is regularly used of establishing a settlement, and *deductio militum* here signifies the establishment of armed garrisons in the Italian towns.

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urbe] Rome, opposed to *oppida*, provincial towns.

24 *cum*] causal, explaining the reason of *ignarus*, hence the subjunctive *esset*.

eius] to be taken with *magister equitum*, not with *amicorum*: for the genitive cp. § 71 *cuius dictatoris magister equitum fuisses*.

25 *constitueretur*] the statement that Caesar was ignorant of the appointment of Antony can hardly be correct. The Master of Horse was usually appointed by the dictator and chosen from magistrates of praetorian rank, cp. Dio XLII. 21 *τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἵππαρχον προσελόμενος μηδὲ ἐστρατηγηκότα* (though he had not been *στρατηγός* = *praetor*), from which we learn that Caesar made an exception to this rule in his appointment of Antony. Another exceptional circumstance in this case was that Caesar's dictatorship, and consequently Antony's office too, was to last for one year from Oct. 48 to Oct. 47, instead of the six months hitherto assigned as the outside limit for the dictatorship. Plut. Ant. 8 says (Καῖσαρ) *δικτάτωρ ἀναγορευθεὶς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐδίωκε Πομπήιον, Ἀντώνιον δὲ ἵππαρχον ἑλόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπεμψεν*, which must be wrong, because it was after Pompey's death that Caesar was made dictator.

26 *Hippia*] Hippias and Sergius were actors. Antony felt that as *ἵππαρχος* he was justified in his intimacy with Hippias—a poor jest on the name. Juvenal VI. 82 seems to have been misled by the form *Hippia* into thinking that a woman was meant, as he gives the names Sergiolus and Hippia to two probably fictitious characters, male and female, of his own day.

equos vectigalis] a difficult passage. Halm's explanation (ed. 6) is that theoretically the state had to furnish the horses required for certain public games (*curules equi*), but that private individuals, and from the time of Augustus, senators, were allowed to contract with the state for the supply, paying the state a fixed sum and reimbursing themselves, with more or less profit, from the persons responsible for the games. In this transaction he thinks that Antony was only 'the man of straw' and that Sergius, who had no right to be so, was the real contractor and received the profits. See Asconius on Cic. Or. in toga cand. p. 83, Dio LV. 10, Liv. XXIV. 18. According to this view *equos vectigalis* is equivalent to *redemptionem equorum vectigalium*. Dr Reid however doubts whether more is meant than that Antony let out horses for hire. He regards it as inconceivable that *equi vectigales* could be a regular name for the *equi curules*, in the sense of 'horses supplied by contract'.

The phrase must mean horses that earn a *vectigal*, just as *ager vectigalis* is land that produces a *vectigal*. The passage from Asconius may be due to misapprehension.

27 *hanc*] Pompey's house, of which Antony had become possessed, cp. 67. This magnificent house, which afterwards became the property of the Emperors, was situated in the Carinae on the western end of the Esquiline. Burn, Rome and the Campagna p. 230.

male tuetur] 'keeps with difficulty', because after the death of Caesar property previously confiscated by him would naturally be claimed by its rightful owners.

M. Pisonis] M. Pupius Piso, consul with M. Valerius Messala B.C. 61. Is the position of his house now ascertainable? [possibly it is the same house as that of Galba's Piso, recently discovered. J.S.R.]

30 *quo se verteret*] 'did not know whither to turn', repeated § 74; *non habebat* almost = *nesciebat*, cp. above § 38 and Ver. II. 2. 74 *quid ageret, quo se verteret, nesciebat*.

31 *Rubrio...Turselio*] cp. § 41.

33 *heres*] he had professedly purchased Pompey's house but had ultimately refused to pay the purchase-money, hence Cicero sarcastically calls him *heres*.

p. 23. 1 *ut*] consecutive 'so that'—'so that he only possessed as much as he had been able to plunder'.

§ 63.

4 *nequissimo genere levitatis*] 'the most disreputable kind of indecorous behaviour': *levitas* is opposed to *robustior improbitas*, and denotes a thoughtless disregard of decorum and the feelings of others.

5 *faucibus*] 'throat'; *lateribus* 'lungs'.

10 *duceret*] observe the tense, 'would think', not *duxisset* 'would have thought'.

11 *ructare*] 'hiccough'.

13 *in suis sordibus*] 'among his meaner actions'.

14 *veniamus ad splendidiora*] cp. § 78 l. 24 *ad maiora veniamus*.

§ 64.

15 *se recepit*] late in the summer of B. C. 47.

17 *Iovis Statoris*] some substructions of a building recently discovered near the junction of the *sacra* and the *nova via* are supposed to be the

remains of this temple of 'Jupiter the Stayer', built, according to the legend, by Romulus in gratitude to the God for staying the defeat of the Romans by the Sabines, Liv. I. 12, Burn's Rome, p. 162.

18 *subiecta*] *subicere voci praeconis* (or *sub praeconem*) is a common phrase, meaning 'to put up for sale'. Orelli in his first edition omitted *subiecta Cn. Pompei* as Quintilian IX. 3. 29 quotes the passage without them; Dr Reid would omit *subiecta.*

consumptis lacrimis] concessive participle, 'though my tears are used up', 'though I have no tears left to shed', as below *servientibus animis* 'though their spirits were enslaved'. Such a remark in a modern speech would excite ridicule, but Cicero as an impressionable Italian very likely did weep when he first heard of Pompey's house being sold; he could not however summon a tear at a moment's notice in a speech and therefore pretends that he has wept his eyes dry: cp. § 68 *quam domum...nemo sine lacrimis praeterire poterat.*

23 *liber fuit*] 'found free expression', cp. the common use of *libertas* in the sense of παρρησία 'freedom of speech'.

24 *tam...hostis*] this apparent rather than real exception to the rule stated in note on § 18 l. 22, is not noticed by LS. The substantive *hostis* is practically equivalent to an adjective, such as *inimicus.*

25 *scelus sectionis*] 'wicked sale': this use of *scelus* with a genitive is colloquial rather than literary, and is found in Plautus and Terence.

inventus est nemo] this is not true, as we learn from Cicero himself, Phil. XIII. § 11 (quoted by M.).

26 *praesertim cum*] 'although', cp. note on § 60 l. 12.

28 *id quod*] not 'that thing which', but 'such a thing as', hence the subjunctive.

§ 65.

29 *stupor*] cp. § 30 l. 23.

30 *isto loco natus*] 'born in such a position as yours'.

31 *Pompei*] said with emphasis: the moral greatness (in Cicero's view) of the person whose property Antony bought was an aggravation of the offence.

32 *populo*] dative 'in the sight of the Roman people'.

33 *et esse...et futuros*] this double *et* when the same verb is used in different tenses is very common; cp. Verr. II. 2. 15 *intellegetis enim, nullis hominibus quemquam tanto odio, quanto istum Syracusanis, et esse et fuisse*; Phil. III. 9 *qualia innumerabilia et facit et fecit Antonius.*

p. 24. 3 *iustitia*] i.e. *cuius iustitia* 'by whose justice it was dearer (to them)'.

4 *se ingurgitasset*] 'had descended like a torrent' (?), cp. Pis. 42 *numquam te in tot flagitia ingurgitasses* 'you would never have been swept into such a course of crime', but here too the exact shade of meaning is doubtful: the word means 'to pour into', Plaut. Curc. 128 *hoc vide ut ingurgitat impura in se merum avariter faucibus plenis.* [Possibly Cicero wrote *copiis*, 'on the strength of Pompey's wealth he had given himself a debauch', cp. Fin. II. 23 *qui de conviviis auferantur crudique se rursus ingurgitent.* J.S.R.]

5 *persona de mimo*] 'as a character in a farce'.

6 *poetam*] Cn. Naevius, Ribbeck Trag. fragm. (II. 11) 54.

male parta] Ferrarius quotes Plaut. Poen. 843 *male partum male disperit.*

§ 66.

7 *incredibile...modo*] 'there is something incredible and almost portentous in the way in which' &c.

9 *vini numerus*] 'quantity': when *frumentum* is spoken of, *numerus* is the regular word to express quantity, cp. Caes. B. G. VII. 38, VIII. 34, B. C. II. 18, etc.

10 *vestis*] *vestis* may be used of a single garment or collectively, as here, in sense of 'apparel', cp. Liv. XXI. 15 *multam pretiosam supellectilem vestemque missam Carthaginem.*

11 *lauta*] 'elegant'.

non illa quidem] cp. note on § 22 l. 4.

§ 67.

13 *Charybdis*] the dangerous whirlpool between Italy and Sicily, personified in ancient mythology as a female monster. In the de Orat. III. 163, Cicero raises an objection against far-fetched similes of this kind *deinde videndum est ne longe simile sit ductum. Syrtim patrimoni, scopulum libentius dixerim; Charybdim bonorum, voraginem potius.* Clodius is compared to Charybdis and Scylla in Har. Resp. 59.

14 *me dius fidius*] 'so help me the god of faith'; supply some such word as *iuvet*: the omission of a verb in adjurations is common, so we find *di meliora* (sc. *dent*), *di illi mortuo* (sc. *mala dent*); cp. *mehercules.* In the forms *edius fidius, ecastor, edepol* the *e* is probably a prefixed interjection.

15 *dissipatas*] 'dispersed', 'scattered'. This participle is often united with *dispersus*.

16 *nihil...scriptum*] 'to his pillaging hands nothing was barred, nothing sealed, nothing secured in writing': some such amplification of the sentence is required in English.

17 *apothecae*] ἀποθῆκαι, 'warehouses'.

18 *condonabantur*] *condono* differs slightly from *do* or *dono* in implying freehanded, profuse giving; cp. leg. agr. 15 *sic confirmo, quirites, hac lege agraria dari vobis nihil, condonari certis hominibus omnia.*

19 *referta*] often used, like *plenus*, with a genitive: so we say 'filled with' or 'full of'.

20 *atque id*] 'and that too', cp. *idque* in § 23 l. 9.

suggerebantur] 'were superadded'.

22 *conchyliatis peristromatis*] 'purple-dyed coverlets': *conchylium* was a light purple dye produced from a kind of shell-fish with an admixture of other ngredients. The patchwork coverlets (*centones*) ordinarily used by slaves were made of the commonest rags.

peristromatis] the word is a latinised form of περιστρώματα; for the form of the ablative, cp. *poematis, epigrammatis, aenigmatis.*

cellis] 'garret', 'hut', a word peculiarly applied to the dwellings of slaves.

27 *hortos*] 'sc. *occupavit* as continuation of the foregoing *invasit in fortunas*' HM.: perhaps supply *devoravit* from the nearer verb.

§ 68.

29 *os ostendere*] a not uncommon phrase in Cicero.

32 *quamvis nihil sapias*] 'devoid of sense as you are'; cp. §§ 19, 43.

p. 25. 1 *rostra*] probably spoils taken by Pompey in the pirate war.

2 *putas*] 'do you think?': slightly irregular sequence of tenses; one might have expected *putasti* 'did you think?'

3 *sine sensu*] 'without feeling', not 'without sense'.

6 *obiecta sit*] this represents in a direct statement *obiecta est*, like *cum adspexisti* above, but the clause being subordinate, the mood becomes subjunctive. For the use of the word cp. Acad. II. 49 *si tale visum obiectum est a deo dormienti*, Div. II. 143 *visum est tale obiectum dormienti.*

§ 69.

8 *me quidem miseret*] 'for my own part I pity'.

10 *quid nisi.. disciplina*] 'what (conduct) that was not based on (did not spring from) the highest morals and the strictest discipline?'

13 *institutis*] 'habits'.

pro...sunt] 'bedrooms and dining-halls have become dens of infamy and gluttony'.

15 *frugi*] 'respectable': *esse frugi* or *bonae frugi* was an old phrase meaning 'to be fruitful', 'serviceable', 'useful'; in course of time *frugi* came to be regarded as an indeclinable adjective which could be attached to any case of a noun, and took the place of the normal adjective *frugalis*, which is seldom found save in the comparative and superlative. Another adjective of like anomalous character is *nequam*.

16 *suas res sibi habere*] the usual formula of divorce. Legal separation between husband and wife was easily obtained in Rome at this period; nothing seems to have been required but a declaration, made in the presence of witnesses, of intention to separate agreed to by both parties and stating reasons; the words *tuas res tibi habeto* 'take what belongs to you' no doubt formed a part of this declaration (cp. Gaius dig. XXIV. 2).

clavis ademit] 'took from her the keys'. The woman was expected to hand over to her husband the keys of the house or of such part of it as was under her control; there must have been a provision to this effect in the Twelve Tables, the great foundation code of all Roman law. In the present case as Antony was not married to Cytheris, no formula of divorce seems to have been necessary; they merely parted company. This took place in 47.

17 *exegit*] the husband said *exi* or *i foras* or something similar: Buecheler thinks the original phrase was *baete foras.* MM. VII. 68—72.

porro] 'forthwith'.

18 *cuius...divortium*] 'in whose whole life no more honourable deed can be found than his separation from an actress'.

§ 70.

19 *at...nequissimus*] "but how often he uses the phrase, 'I, a consul and an Antony', which is the same as saying 'I, a consul and a profligate' or 'I, a consul and a scoundrel'".

23 *avos*] cp. note on § 42 l. 13, and for Antony's uncle, Cicero's colleague in the consulship, see § 56.

24 *nisi*] 'were it not for the fact that you alone are an Antony'.

25 *quae*] 'which are not specially characteristic of the part you played in harassing the state; I return to your own peculiar part, I mean the civil war'.

§ 71.

29 *timiditatem*] an unworthy taunt; whatever his faults may have been, want of courage was not one of them; see Plutarch Ant. 8 for some account of his qualities as an officer.

30 *defuisti*] after the battle of Pharsalus Caesar, appointed dictator for a year, sent Antony back to Italy as master of horse. At the expiration of the year in Oct. 47 when Caesar entered on his third dictatorship he made Lepidus master of horse in place of Antony, whose extravagant conduct Caesar perhaps felt to be prejudicial to his interests. In the subsequent campaigns Antony took no part.

31 *antesignanus*] the *antesignani* in Caesar's army were probably a small special corps of picked men who fought in front of the *signum* or standard of the legion, a long staff surmounted by an eagle of silver or bronze.

L. Domitium] appointed to succeed Caesar in the governorship of Gaul, Appian B. C. II. 82; he had previously fallen into the hands of Caesar at the capture of Corfinium in Feb. 49, cp. above, § 27, Caes. B. C. I. 23.

p. 26. 1 *servasset*] 'would have saved', i.e. if it had been possible: this or some such addition must be mentally supplied to explain the subjunctive *servasset*, which is an apodosis of a conditional sentence with the protasis omitted. For Caesar's clemency, cp. note on § 5, and Appian B. C. II. 107 *κατεκάλει δὲ καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας ὁ Καῖσαρ, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐπὶ ἀνηκέστοις ἔφευγε· καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς διηλλάσσετο, καὶ τῶν πεπολεμηκότων οἱ πολλοὺς προῆγεν ἀθρόως ἐς ἐτησίους ἀρχὰς ἢ ἐς ἐθνῶν ἢ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας.*

2 *tantis talibus*] *et* should probably be inserted.

5 *reditum*] in the summer of 46.

6 *quaestor*] in Gaul in B.C. 51, cp. Caes. B. G. VIII. 2. 38.

8 *appellatus*] *appellare* is the usual term for 'calling on' a debtor for payment. One would expect the addition of *ab eo* here, referring back to the relative *cuius*, 'you were called on for payment *by him* whose quaestor etc. you had been'. The usual precision and perspicuity of Cicero's style seems wanting in the text in its present form: if it be right the construction must be *de pecunia* [*eius*] *cuius tu*, &c. 'you were called on for payment in respect of the money belonging to him whose quaestor', &c. Halm however (ed. 6) allows the omission of *ab eo*.

9 *pro sectione*] for the property you bought at the sale of Pompey's effects.

§ 72.

10 *videar*] supply *dicere*.

12 *pecuniam*] supply some such word as *petat* or *postulet* 'What, Caesar demand money from me?' Draeger 1^2. 200 contrary to sense supplies *accepit*. M. supplies *petet*, but perhaps the subjunctive 'of indignation' (cp. note on § 15 l. 22) should be preferred.

13 *at*] 'why, it was beyond his power!'

ad illum...attuli] 'I put within his reach'.

14 *leges*] this appears to be exaggeration on Cicero's part; HM. refer to Antony's enactments during his tribuneship mentioned in § 56, but, as Abrami remarks, these were not of sufficient importance to warrant the introduction of them here among the other measures of Antony that served to introduce the civil war. More to the point is the reference to Dio XLI. 17 (HM. introduction, note 42), from which it is gathered that Antony proposed on behalf of Caesar the appropriation of the sacred treasure and introduced other measures in his master's interest.

19 *ius postulabas*] 'you made a just demand'; for *ius*=*quod iustum est* cp. Plaut. Pseud. 1313 *ius petis, fateor.* Cicero is here replying to Antony's imaginary demand 'your demand was a just one, but what good was it? Caesar was the stronger'.

§ 73.

20 *excussis*] 'flung aside': the metaphor is from shaking or wresting a thing from a person's grasp: cp. Mur. 30 *omnia ista nobis studia de manibus excutiuntur*, Sull. 24 *excutient tibi istam verborum iactationem*, 47 *noli aculeos orationis meae excussos arbitrari.*

21 *cum*]='whereupon': "the coincidence in time is sometimes vividly expressed by an inversion; what would otherwise have been the temporal clause being put first as an independent sentence (often with *iam*), and what would have been the principal sentence being subjoined with *cum*, often *cum repente*, *cum interim*, &c." R. § 1733.

tabula] 'auction', properly a tablet containing an inventory of the things to be offered for sale.

22 *qui risus hominum*] this exclamation is followed by an accusative and infinitive clause, being syntactically equivalent to *quem ad modum ridebant homines*.

23 *partem Miseni*] 'his share in Misenum', cp. above, § 48 end.

24 *nihil erat*] Antony was selling this property in order to satisfy Caesar's claims, and it chiefly consisted of Pompey's effects which Antony had bought but had not paid for! Hence the *risus hominum*.

26 *eaque*] 'and what there was of it'.

27 *sordidata mancipia*] 'slaves in squalid attire'; cp. Ter. Haut. 297 *scin hanc quam dicit sordidatam et sordidam* 'meanly clad and mean', Cic. Pis. 67 *servi sordidati ministrant*.

ut doleremus] 'so that we grieved'; *ut*=ὥστε with infinitive, cp. above, § 40 l. 23

§ 74.

29 *heredes L. Rubri*] Rubrius had left his property to Antony, to whom he was a perfect stranger, passing over his nephew and the son of Q. Fufius, who also had some claim on him, cp. §§ 40, 41. They probably interfered with the auction on the ground of some invalidity, real or alleged, in the will, such as that the testator was not of sound mind; or the interference may have been purely arbitrary but authorised by Caesar, as the words *decreto Caesaris* might seem to suggest. Or does Cicero mean to imply by his language in §§ 40, 41 that Antony had actually forged the will?

30 *non habebat*] cp. § 62 l. 30.

quin] 'nay more'.

32 *cum sica*] 'armed with a dagger', cp. note on § 8 l. 7.

33 *proficiscitur*] towards the end of B. C. 46.

p. 27. 1 *prorogatis*] 'having allowed you a few additional days for payment', cp. § 24 l. 21.

3 *rudem*] sc. *accepisti* or *accepit*, according as we suppose Antony to have been personally addressed or not; the phrase *rudem accipere* was a familiar one, and so the verb is omitted. Gladiators on their release from the service of the arena received a wooden foil (*rudis*) as a token of discharge. We might perhaps render in English, though the metaphors are not parallel, "What, so good a prize-fighter throw up the sponge so quickly?"

qui] the antecedent to *qui* is of course *hunc*, not *quisquam*.

4 *id est*] for this use of *id est* introducing an explanation or amplification of a previous phrase cp. note on § 50 l. 3.

§ 75.

6 *aliquando tandem*] this, or *tandem aliquando*, is a common phrase in Cicero.

7 *pervenire*] he only reached Narbo, as we read later on.

8 *Dolabella*] P. Cornelius Dolabella was third (?) husband to Tullia, Cicero's daughter. It is not quite certain that she was ever married to Crassipes, Plut. Cic. 41, Boot on Cic. Att. IV. 5 § 3.

ista caussa] 'the cause (of Caesar) that you had espoused' (*ista*).

10 *ter*] at Pharsalus, Thapsus and Munda.

13 *nollem*] supply *adfuisset*.

consilium] 'though his policy in the first instance was reprehensible (i.e. his policy in espousing the cause of Caesar) yet his constancy was praiseworthy'.

14 *quid es?*] 'what are you?' i.e. 'what is to be said of you?' Garatoni quotes Fam. V. 12 § 6 *neque enim tu is es qui quid sis nescias*, Att. III. 15 § 2 *quid enim sum?* Har. Resp. 42 *hic vero quid est?* compare the phrase *aliquid esse* 'to be something': and for many instances of *quid*=*qualis* with *videri* (as in Fam. IX. 21 § 1 *quid tibi videor in epistulis?*) see Reid on Acad. II. 76.

liberi] Gnaeus and Sextus.

15 *tum primum*] 'then, in the first place': "*primum* does not belong to *tum*, but is correlative of *praeterea*" HM.

fuerit] 'granted that this (the recovery of their country) was the common cause of that party' (the Pompeian party): yet, Cicero goes on to say, they had special objects in view as well; they wanted to recover their own hearth and home of which you had robbed them; cp. note on § 62 l. 27.

18 *etsi*] this concessive clause anticipates the word *aequissimum* which suggests its insertion: Cicero's meaning is—it was in the highest degree right for you, in the circumstances, to fight against the young Pompeys, yet how can one talk of right in a cause that is absolutely wrong (*in rebus iniquissimis*)?

§ 76.

21 *convomeres*] a rare word 'bevomit'.

23 *Narbone reditus*] the addition of the preposition is more usual when the place 'from which' is dependent on a substantive, cp. Phil. IV. 3 *a Brundisio reditum*; R. § 1259: cp. § 64 *Alexandrea se recepit*, Phil. III. 8 *ex eis quidam Roma recentes*, 'newly come from Rome'. For the form of expression cp. § 48 *qui tum inde reditus aut qualis?*

quaerebat] no doubt in his speech on 19 Sept.

ex ipso cursu] the *ipso* can best be expressed by translating 'when I was actually on my journey': Cicero is perhaps quoting Antony's words, which may have been *cur tu ex ipso cursu tuo tam subito revertisti?* 'from the very middle of your journey': somewhat similar is § 93 *qui in ipso dolore risum posset continere*, 'in the midst of his indignation'.

24 *revertissem*] Caesar returned suddenly to Rome 31 Aug., abandoning his projected journey to Greece. Note that *reverti* not *reversus sum* is the correct perfect of *revertor*. The participle *reversus* however occurs Phil. VI. 10, Caes. B.G. VI. 42.

nuper] in the first Philippic delivered on 2 Sept.; cp. Phil. I. 7—10.

26 *Kal. Ianuarias*] cp. Phil. I. 6 *ea mente discessi ut adessem Kalendis Ianuariis quod initium senatus cogendi fore videbatur*. He had promised to return by that date, when his friends Hirtius and Pansa would enter on their consulship; Plut. Cic. 43 (M.).

27 *tenebris*] prose writers generally say *in tenebris*, though in phrases of everyday occurrence such as 'by day', 'by night', etc. the preposition was dispensed with, *die*, *luce*, *nocte*, *hieme*, etc.: here usage is influenced by sound, *luce non in tenebris* would not sound well.

28 *cum calceis*] *cum* is used with articles of clothing as well as with names of weapons cp. § 8. *calceus* was the ordinary Roman boot or shoe (something like an 'Oxford' shoe) as distinguished from the *solea* 'sandal'; so *toga* was the distinctive Roman garment; Cicero contrasts his own homely attire with the foreign fashions affected by Antony.

Gallicis] a kind of sandal, Aul. Gell. XIII. 21 § 6. Different kinds of *Gallicae* were sold at Rome, *viriles rusticanae bisoles*, *viriles monosoles*, *cursoriae*.

lacerna] a light mantle of elegant shape and made of any colour that might suit the taste of the wearer. It was worn over the *toga*, whence Juvenal IX. 29 calls it *munimentum togae*; it was fastened by a buckle

on the right shoulder. Augustus forbade the wearing of it in Rome Suet. Aug. 40; under the Empire it seems to have superseded the *sagum* as the military dress; cp. SDA. *lacerna*, MM. VII². 568.

29 *adspicis me*] a rhetorical touch to give vividness to the speech, cp. § 36 l. 33.

ne] cp. § 3 l. 14.

33 *fuisse viderere*] 'fancied that you had been'; said with bitter irony, because Cicero chose to think Antony's appointment irregular. He was master of horse from Oct. 48 to Oct. 47. *qui* = *cum tu*.

proximum annum] the present year 44.

p. 28. 1 *peteres*] this was the proper word to express constitutional candidature for an office: it is implied that Antony begged for the office (*rogares*) rather than offered himself as a candidate in the ordinary way. The word may imply, as *rogabatur* below, that permission to hold the office had now to be begged from the great man of the day, namely Caesar; cp. § 79 *iussus es renuntiari consul*.

Galliae] Cisalpine Gaul.

2 *a qua*] as *petere* means 'to solicit' it is here followed by *a* with the ablative of the person (here represented by *qua*, the country for the people) from whom the favour is sought. Orelli reads *e*, remarking '*e qua*' *sic dictum est ut illud* '*ex provincia triumphare*', so HM., translating 'for our services in which' (as propraetors, quaestors &c.).

§ 77.

6 *Saxa rubra*] some rocks of red tufa about nine miles from Rome on the left hand side of the via Flaminia; the place is now called Grotta Rossa. Here was fought in Oct. A.D. 312 the decisive battle between Constantine and Maxentius that made the former master of the Western Empire.

cauponula] the diminutive is contemptuous: 'some wretched little tavern'.

7 *perpotavit*] 'prolonged his potations'.

ad vesperam] the accusative with *ad* is the only part of *vespera* used by Cicero, and perhaps only here and Cat. II. 6. The usual form is *ad vesperum*. Dr Reid doubts whether the MSS are to be trusted in these two passages, inasmuch as *vespera* is an archaic and poetic word, afterwards reintroduced into prose by Sallust and his imitators.

8 *cisio*] a light two-wheeled vehicle, 'gig'; see a figure of it in SDA.

obvoluto] muffled in a fold of his *toga*, or *paenula* if he was wearing a travelling cloak. In an ordinary way the Romans wore no head covering, at least at this period.

9 *ianitor*] the verb which the reader at once supplies mentally is omitted for brevity, so in the next sentence *confestim ad eam* (sc. *venit*).

12 *caput*] 'the chief point', 'the sum and substance'.

13 *illim*] 'from that quarter'; cp. *exim*, *istim*: the word was gradually superseded by *illinc* (= *illim* + *ce*).

14 *transfudisse*] cp. Fam. IX. 14 § 4 *libentius omnis meas, si modo sunt aliquae meae, laudis ad te transfuderim.*

15 *in collum invasit*] Plut., Ant. 10, says περιβαλὼν κατεφίλησεν 'threw his arms round her neck and gave her a hearty kiss'. This, according to the same author, was one of Antony's attempts to make the masculine Fulvia more genial (ἱλαρωτέραν).

16 *nequam*] 'abandoned'.

19 *metu*] it is not clear how Antony's sudden return could have caused a prolonged panic unless it was that he spread the report to which Plutarch vaguely refers (Ant. 10) that Caesar was dead and that the foe were advancing on Italy.

§ 78.

21 *turpiorem*] sc. *caussam redeundi*: love was the plea that brought him home, but outside of his own house (*foris*) a baser motive drew him to Rome, viz. the desire to retain his ill-gotten possessions. Cicero adds *etiam*, regarding Antony's love for Fulvia as in itself *turpis*.

L. Plancus] L. Munatius Plancus, Caesar's legate in Gaul in 54, and doubtless acting as his agent on this occasion; he was brother of T. Munatius Plancus, tribune at the time of the Clodian disturbances in 52. Forsyth, Life of Cicero, seems to confuse them. Plancus was one of the eight *praefecti urbis*, πολιανόμοι, appointed by Caesar in 45; it is inferred from this passage and from Fam. XIII. 29 that he filled the office of *praetor urbanus*.

praedis tuos] 'your sureties' i.e. the property of your sureties; so we speak of 'selling up' a person, meaning his property. Cp. Att. XII. 18 A *opinor (Antonium) propter praedis suos accucurrisse.*

22 *productus in contionem*] no private person could address a public assembly without the permission of the presiding magistrate, who was said *producere aliquem in contionem*, cp. the phrase *dare alicui contionem* which means practically the same thing.

24 *ad maiora veniamus*] cp. § 20 *maiora videamus*, § 63 *veniamus ad splendidiora.*

27 *isti redisti*] these words are frequently thus united, cp. 89 *irent redirent*, Verg. Aen. VI. 122 *itque reditque viam*, Cic. Att. XV. 5 § 3 *qui porro noster itus reditus?*

29 *nescio quo modo*] Caesar may have forgiven him the debt, recognising his usefulness: it is less probable that he paid it.

habebat hoc] 'had this characteristic'.

30 *quem*] *cognorat* must be applied with this clause from the following *cognorat.*

§ 79.

33 *iussus es renuntiari consul*] "from *iubeo*, *veto*, *prohibeo*, *impero hunc occidi*, a new phrase may be formed in the passive, when the person who commands or forbids is not specified: *hic occidi iubetur*, *vetatur*, *prohibetur*, *imperatur*, e.g. *iussus es renuntiari consul.*" Madvig L. G. 396 obs. 3, Roby § 1353.

p. 29. 2 *vestrum*] *vos* borrows its genitive *vostrorum* or *vestrorum*, from which this is contracted, from the possessive pronoun *vester.*

3 *ille*] Caesar.

promissum et receptum] 'what he had promised and guaranteed', 'his promise and engagement': cp. Verr. II. 5 § 139 *satis est factum Siculis...satis promisso nostro ac recepto.*

intervertit] 'diverted': the word is used of diverting a thing to one's own use, cp. Verr. II. 4 § 68 *interverso hoc regali dono.*

4 *ad seque transtulit*] 'transferred to himself'. Caesar who had just been appointed consul for ten years undertook to make Dolabella *consul suffectus*, or vice-consul, as he would be himself absent and so unable to fulfil the duties of the office. But he was induced by Antony, who had long been at enmity with Dolabella, to break his promise.

tu] 'you allied your will to his perfidy'.

5 *veniunt*] Cicero is throwing himself back into the past and describing the events as taking place in the present, hence the presents *veniunt*, *cogimur.*

cogimur] *cogere* is the usual word to express the summons to attend the senate, cp. Phil. I. 6 quoted above on § 76 l. 26.

§ 80.

7 *hic*] Antony, cp. below *hic bonus augur*.

8 *ostendisset*] practically equivalent to 'had promised', cp. Fam. IX. 8 § 1, Att. IX. 13 § 4.

9 *esse*] this belongs to *consulem*, the *esse* belonging to *iussurum* is omitted, as it often is with the participle in the future infinitive; in l. 13 it is inserted with *facturum*.

quem...diceret] 'and yet people deny that he was a king, though he was always both doing and saying something of that kind!': after this indignant parenthetical remark Cicero goes on with his story, resuming the broken thread by the word *sed*.

12 *eo*] agrees with *sacerdotio* 'with that priestly office', viz. the augurship.

13 *vitiare*] we use the same word 'vitiate' in the same sense: the magistrate whose election was vitiated was *vitio factus* or *vitiosus*, cp. Phil. III. 9 *collega...quem ipse ementitis auspiciis vitiosum fecerat*, below § 84 *vitiosus consul Dolabella*.

asseveravit] observe that a Roman augur could assert that on a particular day he would see an unfavourable sign which would vitiate an important election, at least for the day; a convincing proof of the fraud and superstition that accompanied the observances of the state religion; cp. Dio XXXVIII. 13, MM. I. p. 6, note 4.

14 *stupiditatem*] a very rare word, only here used by Cicero; cp. § 8 *stultitiam incredibilem videte*.

§ 81.

16 *si...esses*] 'if you were' (at the time), hence *esses* and not *fuisses*, which at first sight might seem to be required to harmonise with the pluperfect *potuisses* in the apodosis.

17 *nos*] by 'we' Cicero, being himself an augur, means the augurs; cp. below § 83 *nostrum collegium*.

nuntiationem] the whole of this passage §§ 80—84 requires a detailed explanation: the following attempt at an elucidation of the chief difficulties is based on Mommsen's 'die Auspicien der Magistrate' in vol. I. pp. 3—41 of the 'Handbook of Roman Antiquities'. *nuntiatio* is a general expression for the right of announcing the will of the gods as shown by various signs, which right was possessed alike by augurs and by magistrates, while *spectio* (observation) is used in particular of the right possessed by the magistrates of enquiring the will of the gods on any definite issue affecting their own proceedings and receiving an answer to their enquiry. The general rules regulating such observations were laid down by the *leges Aelia et Fufia* about 160 B.C. But in 58 the tribune Clodius, among other measures, carried a law enacting *ne auspicia valerent, ne quis obnuntiaret, ne quis legi intercederet, ut omnibus fastis diebus legem ferri liceret, ut lex Aelia lex Fufia ne valerent*; Sest. 33. In consequence of this the magistrates no longer possessed the right of *nuntiatio* and could not therefore hinder proceedings at elections. This is shown by Festus *nuntiatio, quia omne ius sacrorum habent, auguribus competit...at his* (*magistratibus*) *spectio sine nuntiatione data est, ut ipsi auspicio rem gererent, non ut alios impedirent nuntiando*. Now when Cicero says *nos nuntiationem solum habemus: consules et reliqui magistratus etiam spectionem* he implies by the word *etiam* that the magistrates have *nuntiatio* as well as *spectio*. This apparent discrepancy is due to the fact that for his own purpose he is ignoring the Clodian law and treating the *leges Aelia et Fufia* as unrepealed and still in force; yet below he says *neque licet* (*de caelo servare*) *comitiis per leges*, thus contradicting himself by assuming the validity of the Clodian law. If this explanation be correct we are in a position to see that Antony's proceedings were not due to stupidity, as Cicero alleges, but to his observance of the Clodian law. [I am not satisfied that Cicero is wrong. The facts were too notorious for him to run counter to them: no doubt *obnuntiatio* (which is not the same as *nuntiatio*) and *servare de caelo* were abolished by Clodius (though afterwards magistrates occasionally treated his law as invalid and apparently with success) so far as legislative *comitia* are concerned, but is there any proof that he did so in respect of the elective *comitia*? I think all the passages relating to the operative effect of the Clodian law concern legislation; while many passages (Q. F. III. 3 § 2, Phil. II. § 99) seem to show that *obnuntiatio* remained for elections. If *comitia* in § 80 be interpreted as referring to electoral *comitia* (a sense often found in the letters) everything is made smooth. It may be that the peculiar form of *obnuntiatio* denoted by *servare de caelo*, which implied a previous announcement, was entirely abolished. J.S.R.]

19 *hoc imperite*] sc. *fecit*.

20 *prudentia*] 'knowledge' of sacred law. M. calls attention to the jingle *prudentia* and *impudentiam*.

21 *multis ante mensibus*] ablative of 'amount of difference' R. § 1204:

lit. 'before, by many months', cp. § 8 *tot annis post*, § 87 l. 24 *multis post seculis*.

22 *quod fecit*] described in §§ 82, 83.

24 *de caelo servare*] 'to watch the sky'; the regular phrase for the observation of heavenly signs; *de caelo auspicari* is also used.

quod neque licet] Cicero here tacitly assumes the validity of the Clodian law, see above. The plural *leges* seems to be used vaguely; as we often speak of an act being contrary to 'the laws', though there may be only one law applicable to the case.

25 *non comitiis habitis*] the unfavourable sign had to be announced before the conclusion of the election.

26 *implicata*] the participle *implicitus* was probably not used by Cicero.

27 *impudentia*] ablative; 'his ignorance is bound up with impudence', cp. Vat. 3 *inconstantiam tuam, cum levitate, tum etiam periurio implicatam.*

§ 82.

28 *illo die*] 1 Jan. 44, on which day Caesar had declared that Dolabella should succeed him as *consul suffectus.*

29 *apparitor*] 'clerk', from *apparere* 'to be at hand', 'to wait on', cp. Liv. II. 55 *quattuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus*: a general name for the lower class of officials in attendance on the magistrates; they include *lictores, servi publici, architecti, scribae librarii, accensi, praecones.*

30 *tam humilis, tam abiectus*] cp. Fin. V. 57 *nihil abiectum nihil humile cogitant.*

31 *lecticam*] a litter in the form of a couch carried by bearers; as a rule they were only used on journeys, or in the city by invalids or people of effeminate habits. Caesar tried to check the use of them, Suet. Caes. 43, yet from this passage we gather that he was in the habit of using one himself, perhaps because he was not in strong health, Suet. Caes. 86. The words *in aversam lecticam* must mean 'in at the back of the litter', i.e. at the upper end, where lay the head of the person reclining in it; Antony would thus make his requests of Caesar in a confidential whisper.

33 *dies*] apparently in March, but the exact day is not known; Lange III². 477.

sortitio praerogativae] after the reform of the *comitia centuriata* (probably in B.C. 241; Lange II². 468) the custom of choosing by lot a tribe to vote first was imitated from the *comitia tributa*, only instead of a tribe, a century was so chosen, called on that account *praerogativa*, and the method of choosing it was called *sortitio praerogativae.* Each of the 35 tribes was now divided into two parts, consisting of five *centuriae iuniorum* and five *centuriae seniorum*, thus making 70 divisions (half tribes). Furthermore each of the five original Servian *classes* was now made to consist of 70 centuries, making the whole number of centuries 350. These five *classes* became fused with the tribes in such a way that each tribe contained 10 centuries, that is, two (one *seniorum* and one *iuniorum*) from each of the five *classes*, thus making up the number 350. The vote given by the *praerogativa* was regarded as an omen, and Cicero goes so far as to say that in consular elections no instance was known of a person carrying its votes without being subsequently elected by a majority of the whole body of voters; Planc. 49. The probable details of the change in the *comitia* here briefly described will be found in Lange II². § 123 'die Reform der Comitia centuriata', § 124 'die Abhaltung der Comitia centuriata', Ihne, History of Rome IV. 12—19, Mommsen, History II. 374—377, Herzog, Römische Staatsverfassung p. 1119, foll.

p. 30. 1 *renuntiatur*] 'the result is announced', by the presiding magistrate who had it publicly declared by a *praeco* 'herald' (leg. agr. II. 4, Verr. II. 5. 38); cp. Planc. 49 *vocatae tribus, latum suffragium, diribitae* [*tabellae*], *renuntiatum* (so I should read for the *renuntiatae* of the MSS, due to the previous feminine).

2 *renuntiatur; deinde, ita ut adsolet, suffragia; tum secunda classis vocatur*] the text cannot be right as it stands, but there is great diversity of view as to the proper method of correcting it. Mommsen proposes *deinde equitum ut adsolet suffragia*; the word *ita* only found in the Vatican MS may represent an early corruption of *equitum*, which if written *equitū* might easily become *ita* between *deinde* and *ut*: another suggestion is that *tum* before *secunda* is the remains of *equitum*, which seems less likely: A. Augustinus proposes *deinde, ita ut adsolet, suffragatum secunda classis vocatur*: Madvig would simply strike out *renuntiatur*: for other suggestions see edition of Orelli, Baiter and Halm, 1856. Mommsen's conjecture would be more convincing if we knew in what place the 18 centuries of *equites* voted, but in regard to this little or nothing is known. Another proposal of Mommsen's is to put *sex* before *suffragia*, which would denote the *sex suffragia equitum* which arose by the duplication (attributed to the time of Tarquin) of the three original

centuries of *equites Ramnenses*, *Titienses* and *Lucerenses*, which, when the patricians were doubled, became six centuries, but were generally styled *sex suffragia*; but, as Lange points out, there is nothing whatever to show that the six originally patrician centuries voted at a different time from the 12 centuries that owed their origin to the so-called Servian constitution: [if the *sex suffragia* did not vote separately, it is hard to understand why they continued to be marked off from the 12, which must have formed part of the *prima classis* of the reformed constitution. On the whole I should be inclined to leave the text alone and interpret *suffragia* as *sex suffragia*, but the question is too involved to argue briefly. If there is nothing to prove that the *sex suffragia* voted separately, there is also nothing to disprove it. J.S.R.]

§ 83.

4 *C. Laelium*] Antony is so scrupulous that you might fancy him a second Laelius: C. Laelius the chief interlocutor in the dialogue *de amicitia* was consul B.C. 140 and was a member of the augural college. He was a man of the highest character and gained the title of '*Sapiens*'.

diceres] the second person is quite indefinite and corresponds to our 'one': translate 'one would say that he was C. Laelius' not 'one would call him C. Laelius'. For this hypothetical subjunctive cp. R. § 1544, who quotes Verr. II. 4. 31 *quo posteaquam venerunt, mirandum in modum—canis venaticos diceres—ita odorabantur omnia*, &c.

5 *alio die*] this was the formula used by the augur when on the occurrence of an unfavourable sign he forbade the magistrate to proceed with the election: if no adverse sign appeared his words were *silentium esse videtur* in answer to the question *dicito si silentium esse videbitur*: another question was *dicito si aves addicant*, answer *aves addicunt*. MM. VI. 388.

6 *de caelo servasse*] notice *servasse* not *servare*: the observation of the unfavourable sign had to precede the election, cp. § 81 l. 23.

7 *obvenit*] 'came in the way': '*ob*' in composition often denotes obstruction, cp. *obesse*, *officere*, *obicere*, *obnuntiare*, &c.

8 *iam Kal. Ian.*] 'as early as the first of January'.

provideras] notice *provideo* but *praedico*; cp. note on § 24.

9 *hercule*] perhaps the vocative of an older form *Herculus*, afterwards confused with the Greek *Heracles*.

10 *calamitate*] ablative 'of attendant circumstances': 'with calamity to yourself rather than to the state'.

obstrinxisti] 'you have tied the hands of the Roman people by a religious ceremony': the people were 'hampered' by the vitiated election of Dolabella.

11 *consul*] yet Antony *obnuntiavit* not as consul but as augur; by the Clodian law as shown above a consul could not *obnuntiare*, that is, declare an unfavourable sign.

12 *nolo plura*] supply *dicere*.

14 *deferantur*] the question as to the validity of Dolabella's election would have to be brought before the augural college for decision: cp. Liv. XLV. 12 *vitio diem dictam esse augures, cum ad eos relatum est, decreverunt*; Cic. Leg. II. 31 *quid magnificentius quam posse decernere ut magistratu se abdicent consules?* MM. I. 38.

§ 84.

15 *quam...voles*] cp. note on § 113 l. 22.

vitiosus] sc. *erit*.

16 *salvis auspiciis*] 'without violation to the auspices'.

si nihil est] 'if it means nothing'.

18 *dixeris*] =*dixisti* in oratio recta: the clause is 'suboblique'.

21 *rem unam*] 'one thing' opposed to *multis rebus*: the *unam* should not be taken with *pulcherrimam*: see note on § 7 l. 25.

Lupercalia] the *Luperci* were a priesthood whose origin is lost in the mist of early Roman history: the name seems to be derived from *lupus* and *arceo*, and suggests a body of men whose function was to drive off the wolves from the flocks. The *Luperci* were divided into two *collegia*, the *Fabiani* and the *Quintiliani*, to which a third was added in B.C. 45, called *Iulii* in honour of Caesar. Their festival, the *Lupercalia*, was held on 15 Feb., on which day the *Luperci* in scanty garb ran with frenzied gestures through the streets, striking with leathern thongs all the people, especially women, whom they met. This rite was thought to be of a purifying and otherwise beneficial character and was called *februa*, to which the month of February owes its name, as Ovid says (Fast. II. 31) *mensis ab his dictus, secta quia pelle Luperci | omne solum lustrant idque piamen habent*.

22 *non dissimulat...pallet*] notice the rhetorical artifice: cp. §§ 32, 36.

24 *Minucia*] the reference is to the event described in § 63. The *por-*

ticus Minucia built by M. Minucius Rufus, consul in 110, after his victory over the Thracian Scordisci (Vell. Pat. II. 8), is supposed to have been situated in the *circus Flaminius*, north of the Tiber and west of the Capitoline hill.

25 *cupio*] Cicero means, I am longing to hear your defence that I may see how far your instructor in rhetoric, Sextus Clodius, deserved the grant of 2,000 acres of Leontine land that you made him in return for his lessons; cp. § 43.

26 *appareat*] 'shows itself', 'makes itself felt'.

§ 85.

27 *rostris*] the raised platform, *suggestus*, between the *forum* and the *comitium*, from which speakers used to address the people. It received this name from the *rostra* or beaks of ships with which it was adorned in B.C. 338.

purpurea] suggestive of royalty: the early Roman kings are said to have worn a purple and white *trabea*; Julius Caesar wore a toga entirely of purple, a habit adopted by the Roman emperors.

sella aurea] probably of ivory overlaid with gold: the *sella curulis* was usually made of ivory, hence Horace calls it *curule ebur* Ep. I. 6. 53: Suet. Caes. 76 says that Caesar had *sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali.*

28 *coronatus*] wearing a laurel wreath.

escendis] sc. *rostra.*

ita] 'you were a Lupercus on such conditions (*ita*) that you were bound to remember that you were a consul', that is, 'though you were a Lupercus yet you ought to have remembered' &c. For this restrictive use of *ita...ut* see Roby § 1704, Draeg. H. S. II. § 523. 1: cp. Caecil. 44 *cuius ego ingenium ita laudo ut non pertimescam.*

30 *toto foro*] for this use of the ablative of place see R. § 1170.

31 *meditatum et cogitatum scelus*] *scelus* is in apposition to *diadema* 'a piece of wickedness deliberately conned and planned': the same two participles are found together in Phil. X. 6 *quod verbum tibi non excidit, ut saepe fit, fortuito: scriptum meditatum cogitatum attulisti.* For a list of deponents (like *meditor*) with passive participles see R. § 734, Holden on Cic. Off. I. 27.

33 *inventus es*] cp. note on § 22 l. 8.

p. 31. 1 *regni*] cp. note on § 29 l. 19.

collegam] colleagueship implies equality of rights; Antony wanted to make his colleague his master.

2 *idem temptares*] *idem* is masculine, agreeing with *tu*: not only did you want to make Caesar your master, but you also (*idem*) tried the endurance of the Roman people.

ferre et pati] the two words are frequently united by all authors; such pairs of words are not infrequent in Latin: somewhat similar to this is the phrase *patienter ferre* Phil. XII. 7, and elsewhere.

§ 86.

5 *peteres*] hardly=*petere debebas* (HM.), but *peteres* is the apodosis to a suppressed protasis; if expressed in full Cicero's thought would have been something like this *si servire velles* (*voluisses*), *tibi uni servitium peteres* (*petisses*) 'if you wanted (had wanted) servitude, you would seek (have sought) it for yourself alone': see Reid on Sull. 25.

omnia paterere] 'endure any indignity'; a reference to his subservience to his friend Curio. Dr Reid suggests that the words *ut facile servires* read like a marginal explanation of *ut omnia paterere* that has crept into the text.

6 *id certe*]=τοῦτό γε: 'that office at any rate (viz. of giving Caesar the crown) you did not have entrusted (*mandatum*) to you by us': beware of taking *id mandatum* together as='that commission'.

8 *nudus*] the *Luperci* wore only a girdle about the loins, *διαθέουσιν ἐν περιζώματι γυμνοί.* Cp. Phil. III. 12 *quo ille die populo Romano inspectante nudus unctus ebrius est contionatus*, XIII. 31 *neque illius diei memoriam perhorrescit quo ausus est obrutus vino unguentis oblitus nudus gementem populum Romanum ad servitutem cohortari?*

contionatus] *contionari* to address a public assembly: *contio* denotes (i) an assembly gathered only to hear speeches, not to vote on any measure, (ii) a speech addressed to such an assembly.

10 *ullam partem sensus*] 'any particle of feeling'.

11 *vereor*] cp. Acad. II. 5 *ac vereor interdum ne talium personarum cum amplificare velim, minuam etiam gloriam.*

summorum virorum] Brutus, Cassius and the rest.

13 *quid...eum*] in Att. XVI. 11 § 2 Cicero says he should like to alter these words to *nonne indignissimum est hunc vivere* (Wesenberg).

vivere] Cicero says in a letter to Cassius, Fam. XII. 4, *vellem Idibus Martiis me ad cenam* (Caesar's murder) *invitasses, reliquiarum nihil*

fuisset 'there would have been no leavings'; cp. Att. XIV. 12 § 1 ὦ πράξεως καλῆς μέν, ἀτελοῦς δέ.

14 *abiecerit*] Caesar thrust away the diadem when offered him.

§ 87.

15 *adscribi*] 'he ordered an entry to be appended to (the mention of) the Lupercalia in the state calendar'.

16 *dictatori perpetuo*] 'dictator for life': *perpetuos* means properly 'continuous', 'without a break'. Caesar was appointed dictator for life in 45.

20 *de die*] 'by day': cp. Catull. XLVII. 5 *vos convivia lauta sumptuose de die facitis*; R. § 1911.

in diem] 'for the day': we also have the expression 'to live for the day'.

21 *in legibus et in iudiciis*] 'within the sphere of the laws and the law courts'.

22 *quae tu...sustulisti*] Antony had weakened the authority of the law courts by his arbitrary and illegal acts.

23 *ideone*] 'was it for this that Tarquin was driven out'.

Sp. Cassius] for Cassius and Maelius, cp. notes on § 26 l. 19 and l. 17.

M. Manlius] surnamed 'Capitolinus': he preserved Rome from the Gauls in 390; in 384 he was accused of high treason and put to death; no one of the Manlii ever after bore the *praenomen* 'Marcus', Cic. Phil. I. 32. These three people are mentioned together again in § 114; Leg. II. 50 *itaque et Sp. Cassius et M. Manlius et Sp. Maelius regnum occupare voluisse dicti sunt*; Dom. 101, where it is stated that the site occupied by Maelius' house which had been razed was called *aequimaelium* because the people thought *aequom accidisse Maelio!* Dionysius Hal. however renders it ἰσόπεδον, taking *aequom* in the sense of a level place.

§ 88.

28 *audiebam*] 'I have always been told'; in this sense the imperfect of *audio* is usual.

equidem] the old derivation of this word from *ego quidem* is now abandoned, but it is used by Cicero just in that sense.

29 *ementitis*] *ementior* is one of the deponents that has a passive participle, cp. note on § 85 l. 31.

tamen] 'notwithstanding' that they were forged.

30 *putares*] 'because (as I was told) you thought'; Cicero is quoting a report, hence the mood.

sustulit] so far as Caesar was concerned the 15 March was abruptly cut short by his death; hence fortune is said to have 'removed that day for the state': *rei publicae* is dative 'of advantage'.

32 *incidi*] 'I have lighted on'.

33 *praevertendum est*] from the deponent *praevertor* which is thus used: *praevertor hanc rem* 'I turn myself to this thing first', and with a dative added *praevertor hanc rem illi rei* 'I turn myself to this thing before that': from this we have the gerund *praevertendum* as here; thus *quod* is the accusative after *praevertendum*: 'to which I must address myself before (touching on) those subjects on which my speech had already entered': cp. Div. I. 10 *si vacas animo neque habes aliquid quod huic sermoni praevertendum putes*; Liv. XXXV. 33 *aliud in praesentia praevertendum sibi esse dixit*; Plaut. Cist. V. 1. 8 *praevorti hoc certum est rebus aliis omnibus* where LS. wrongly say *praevorti* is passive. See LS. for other uses of the word.

p. 32. 2 *ex illa fuga...te...recepisti*] the phrase *ex fuga se recipere* is common; we should say 'in flight'; *ex* seems to be used because the flight is looked upon as an action or state from which recourse is had to shelter; cp. Caes. B. G. VII. 20.

§ 89.

4 *frustra*] this should be taken closely with *verissima* 'alas for those prophetic warnings of mine, always in vain so exactly true'.

6 *cum*] slightly causal, hence the mood of *vellent*.

7 *omnia te promissurum*] 'that there was nothing you would not promise'.

9 *irent redirent*] cp. note on *isti redisti* § 78 l. 27: 'went to and fro': *cum* is concessive, 'although', hence the subjunctive.

in sententia mansi] 'I abode by my resolution' of not seeing you.

12 *post diem tertium*] 17 March, the festival of the Liberalia; a variation for *tertio post die* 'on the third day after', which by the inclusive method of reckoning adopted by the Romans would be the 17th; the 16th is *postero die* as above.

13 *aedem Telluris*] the senate was summoned here by Antony; cp. Dio XLIV. 22, who gives the substance of the speech then delivered by Cicero (23—33). Antony chose this place because it was near his house in the Carinae, a district said to have been so named because the houses were built round the temple in the shape of 'keels'.

§ 90.

15 *subito exstitisti*] on Sept. 1, when Antony, finding that Cicero who had returned to Rome only the day before was not present in the senate house, threatened that if he did not come he would have his house pulled down, Phil. I. 12, V. 19.

16 *tibi invideris*] 'you have been jealous of yourself'. Cicero says sarcastically that Antony by his sudden change of policy has shown that he was jealous of his own high reputation that he gained on 17 March by advocating the amnesty proposed by Cicero.

18 *illius diei mentem*] 'your mind of that day', i.e. the views you expressed on that day.

19 *puerum*] Antony's infant child, who, with the young son of Lepidus, was sent as a hostage to the conspirators in the capitol. On receiving these pledges of security they ventured to leave their retreat. The child, who could not have been more than 18 months old, as Antony was not married to Fulvia till 46, is called the grandson of M. Bambalio, who was his mother Fulvia's father, cp. III. 16 *homo nullo numero*. He was named M. Antonius but was sometimes called Antyllus. His life was a short one, for he was executed by Octavian in 30 though already betrothed to Octavian's daughter Julia. Suet. Aug. 17; Drumann I. 519.

20 *quamquam*] 'and yet it was fear, no lasting teacher of duty, that made you good'.

22 *audacia*] note that *audax*, *audacia* are always used in a more or less bad sense, like our 'audacity'.

23 *si illud funus fuit*] Caesar's funeral, or more strictly speaking his cremation, was conducted amid such turbulence that Cicero hesitates whether to call it a funeral, cp. Phil. I. 5 *qui illam insepultam sepulturam effecerant*.

24 *sceleratissime*] quoted also from Sest. 131: there is some trace here of a reading *sceleratissimi* agreeing with *tyranni*.

§ 91.

tua] 'yours was that fine panegyric'. Antony began with a laudation of Caesar's acts and character, and then seeing the populace aroused, so worked on their feelings that excited beyond control they burnt the corpse on the spot, using for fuel anything that came in their way, Suet. Caes. 84. The house of L. Bellienus, a senator who lived near, was burned to the ground, whether by accident or design does not clearly appear.

25 *miseratio*] a term of rhetoric; 'pathetic appeal', 'burst of pathos'.

26 *semustulatus*] the *i* of *semi* is elided before the vowel as in *semuncia* and (sometimes) *semanimus* or *semanimis*. See Att. XIV. 10 *ille etiam in foro combustus laudatusque miserabiliter servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi*.

28 *quos*] 'which'; the antecedent being probably *impetus* and not *servorum*.

30 *quasi fuligine abstersa*] 'when you had, if I may say so, washed the soot from your face'; that is, by way of purging yourself of your evil deeds on the day of the funeral you passed all those fine laws, cp. Seneca Ep. 94 *opifices intuere...videbis quanta fuligine oblinantur*; Plaut. Poen. V. 4. 23 *os oblitum est fuligine*; and for *abstergere* Poen. V. 2. 9 *creta est profecto haec horum hominum oratio, ut mihi absterserunt omnem sorditudinem*. The primary reference is of course to the smoke raised by the burning of Caesar. J.S.R.

31 *ne qua*] cp. Phil. I. 3 *adsentiri etiam nos Ser. Sulpicio clarissimo viro voluit ne qua tabula post idus Martias ullius decreti Caesaris aut benefici figeretur*; from which it appears that the motion was proposed by Sulpicius and that Antony spoke in favour of it. Cicero thought that these measures though good in themselves were not binding on the people as having been passed without due regard to the forms of law, hence he proposed that they should be reenacted, Phil. V. 10.

32 *tabula*] tablet on which the decree was written: these tablets were hung up or affixed in some public place (cp. § 92 *toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur*) and were subsequently placed in the *tabularium* 'registry' or 'record office'.

benefici] probably refers to the granting of the rights of citizenship, cp. § 92, where after mention of *immunitates*, grants of freedom from certain public burdens, Cicero says *civitas non iam singillatim sed provinciis totis dabatur*.

p. 33. 1 *dictaturae*] for this measure cp. Phil. I. 3, V. 10, Dio XLIV. 51.

2 *cepisse*] *odium* is the subject, *te* the object of *cepisse*.

3 *eius*] refers, I think, to *dictaturae* not to *regni*; see next note.

omne] for the *omen* of the best MS I should suggest *omnino* if Madvig's assertion be true that *omne* would be incorrectly used with a word like *nomen*, '*cum unum nomen nullas partes habeat*': for *omnino tollere* cp. Cic. Quinct. 70 *cuius omnino rei memoriam omnem tolli funditus ac deleri arbitror oportere*: Caes. B. G. VI. 29, VII. 28; and cp. Phil. I. 4 *cum dictatoris nomen...propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam funditus ex re publica sustulisset* where *funditus* corresponds to the (supposed) *omnino* here, and the words *recentem memoriam* illustrate *proximum dictatoris metum*, which, differing from Madvig (quoted by M.), I regard as equivalent to *recentem dictatoris metum*. Cicero constantly repeats himself in the Philippics, and the resemblance between these two passages is too striking to admit of the totally different interpretation put on them by Halm and Madvig. [I do not feel the objection to *omne*. Why should it not be used adverbially as other adjectives are? So *non omnis moriar, holus omne prandere*. The quality of the substantive seems to have no necessary bearing on this usage; if Madvig's maxim were pressed, many other passages would have to be altered, e.g. Cael. 29 *omne illud silentium*, for *silentium* can hardly be said to be divisible into parts. J.S.R.]

§ 92.

7 *toto Capitolio*] for the ablative cp. § 85 l. 30.

9 *populis universis*] see note on § 97 l. 25.

singillatim] the adverb is equivalent to *singulis*; cp. Phil. I. 24 *civitas data non solum singulis sed nationibus et provinciis universis*.

10 *provinciis totis*] Cicero is exaggerating as in Phil. I. 24 (quoted above), III. 30 *provincias universas*, V. 12, VII. 15. Antony only granted the citizenship to the one province of Sicily.

13 *nundinis*] cp. § 35 *vectigalium flagitiosissimae nundinae*.

§ 93.

15 *septiens miliens*] the expression is regarded as a neuter noun, hence *est* and *quod*, so below *quadringentiens...quod debuisti*.

tabulis] 'account books'.

16 *ad Opis*] put briefly for *ad aedem Opis*: cp. § 35 l. 26.

funestae] Cicero speaks of the money in the treasury invidiously as *funestae*, implying that it had been raised at the cost of suffering to the people, cp. Phil. I. 17 *pecunia utinam ad Opis maneret! cruenta illa quidem, sed his temporibus, quoniam eis quorum est non redditur, necessaria*. Notice that *pecuniae* is genitive in apposition to *sestertium*, which has to be supplied with *septiens miliens*.

18 *tributis*] Roman citizens were practically exempt from the *tributum* after B.C. 167, when the state became possessed of large treasures by the conquest of Macedonia by L. Aemilius Paulus, though it was open to the authorities to reimpose it whenever need should arise; and Cicero's remark here shows that he saw the possibility of such need: in fact the tribute was reimposed in 43. It consisted in a tax of 1 per 1000 (raised at one time to 3 per 1000) on the property of Roman citizens as valued in the censor's books. Sometimes the money was repaid when the treasury was enriched by a successful war, and it may have been always regarded merely as a loan.

vindicare] 'release'.

20 *ea quidem*] sc. *decreta*, to be supplied from *decretum* below.

21 *a tuis*] 'from your friends' not 'by your friends'.

22 *Deiotaro*] Deiotărus, tetrarch of Galatia, had been set over Armenia by Pompey in 64 or 63 and allowed the title of 'king'. As Pompey's ally he incurred the enmity of Caesar, against whose life he was accused of having plotted. Cicero, with whom he was on terms of friendship, defended him in B.C. 45 in a speech still extant.

24 *in ipso dolore*] cp. § 76 l. 23 *ex ipso cursu*.

§ 94.

25 *huic ordini*] the senatorial order, whom Cicero is supposed to be addressing.

26 *ut*] as *aeque ut* is unknown to Cicero, it is suggested that *ut* should be altered to *et* (as in Cluent. 195) or to *aut* (Koch, Reid); unless *ut* is to be taken quite independently of *aeque*.

equestri] the equestrian order mostly sided with Pompey.

Massiliensibus] Caesar's officers Trebonius and D. Brutus besieged Massilia (Marseilles) when held for Pompey B.C. 49. The siege is described by Caesar B. C. II. 1—16.

28 *praesens*] Caesar saw Deiotarus during his Asiatic campaign in 47, and was his guest for a time, cp. *hospitem* below; Deiot. 8.

aequi boni] 'equitable treatment' cp. Plaut. Curc. 65 *neque quidquam queo aequi bonique ab eo impetrare*: the two words are frequently thus conjoined with or without the copula.

29 *gratiosus*] 'possessed of influence', 'influential'.

compellarat] "had called him to account" HM.: cp. Phil. III. 17 *idem etiam Q. Ciceronem...compellat edicto, nec sentit amens commendationem esse compellationem suam.* Caesar had on some occasion extorted money from Deiotarus; Cicero however in his speech for Deiotarus, addressed to Caesar himself, makes out that Deiotarus provided funds with the utmost readiness.

30 *computarat*] only here in Cicero: 'had made his reckoning'; that is, 'had reckoned how much he wanted, or how much Deiotarus was in a position to provide'.

31 *tetrarchia*] Galatia: the word (τετραρχία), originally meaning the rule over a fourth part of a country, had come to be used of any small district held by a tributary prince: there were originally 12 tetrarchs in Galatia, four for each of the three Gallic tribes that occupied that country.

unum] Mithridates of Pergamum, a natural son of the great Mithridates; Dio XLII. 48, [Caes.] bell. Al. 78. Caesar gave a part of Armenia to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia.

§ 95.

33 *modo...iniquom*] Cicero is quoting from Antony's real or pretended *lex Iulia de Deiotaro.*

p. 34. 1 *complexio*] 'combination', 'complication', or perhaps simply 'repetition', in which sense it was used as a rhetorical term, cp. ad Heren. IV. 20, where the example given is "Who constantly broke treaties? The Carthaginians. Who waged a cruel war in Italy? The Carthaginians" and so on.

2 *adfui*] 'took the part of', 'advocated the cause of'.

3 *illo*] Deiotarus, but *ille* above is Caesar. 'Caesar never said that any demand that we made on behalf of Deiotarus was in his judgement a fair one'.

4 *syngrapha*] 'bond', 'promissory note'.

legatos] their names are mentioned in the speech pro Deiot. 41, Hieras, Blesamius, Antigonus, Dorylaus.

5 *hospitum*] 'guest friends', in Greek ξένοι.

6 *gynaeceo*] there is intentional sarcasm in the use of the Greek word. In the Roman house there was no separate sitting room for women, both men and women alike using the *atrium*: the old-fashioned Roman of Cicero's day felt a great contempt for Greek ways and habits.

8 *meditere censeo*] probably *ut* should be mentally supplied with the subjunctive, though some regard the *censeo* in sentences of this kind as parenthetic, and the subjunctive as used in a jussive sense.

§ 96.

12 *quibus*] dative of the indirect object R. § 1132 foll.; it is a kind of 'dativus incommodi'.

iure consultus] the same form occurs Mur. 27; it is usually *iuris consultus.*

13 *iste*] Manutius suggests that this is Sextus Clodius, Antony's teacher of rhetoric.

14 *dicet* preferred by Orelli and read by Halm (ed. 6) in place of the *dicit* of the MSS.

16 *suum sibi*] *sibi* serves to strengthen the possessive *suum*; logically the pronoun should be *ei* as the subject of the nearer verb *venderes* is Antony, though Deiotarus is the subject of the principal verb *possedit*: cp. Plaut. Trin. 156 *nunc, si ille huc salvos revenit, reddam suom sibi* quoted by R. § 2265, see also R. § 1143 who says 'this use of *sibi* is only in Plautus, Columella, Terence Ad. 958, with an echo in Cic. Phil. II. 96 and perhaps in Am. § 11'. [This last instance, *sibi suo tempore*, is of a different nature. J.S.R.]

venderes] the force of the subjunctive with *prius quam* may be rendered by translating 'without waiting for you to sell him what was his own'.

§ 97.

19 *commentariis*] 'memoranda': *chirographis* 'autograph notes'.

20 *imitatores*] cp. an exactly parallel passage in N. D. III. 74 *id quoque L. Alenus fecit cum chirographum sexprimorum imitatus est*: there were people who 'imitated', that is, forged, memoranda purporting to be Caesar's and made money by selling them. The reading *institores* adopted by Orelli and HM. after Pantagathus has no authority.

21 *gladiatorum libellos*] handbills, sold in the streets, announcing approaching combats of gladiators with the names of the combatants.

Bills of this kind were sometimes affixed to the walls and some of these notices have been found in Pompeii.

23 *expendantur*] in an earlier period when the old copper bars, stamped with some device, but with no fixed indications of weight, were in circulation, sums of money were regularly reckoned by weight, to which practice we owe our word 'expense' (*expendere* 'to weigh out'). Cicero is probably romancing here, but cp. Phil. III. 10 *at vero huius domi inter quasilla pendebatur aurum, numerabatur pecunia.*

24 *avaritia*] probably an ablative of description, the subject of *est* being *iste* (Antony); it is possible however that Cicero is personifying *avaritia*, 'but how blind is avarice!'

25 *Cretensium*] Crete was conquered by Q. Caecilius Metellus (who gained therefrom the *cognomen* Creticus) and made a Roman province with Cyrene in 67. In June 44 Antony induced the senate to pass a resolution appointing M. Brutus over the province of Crete and C. Cassius over Cyrene with proconsular powers.

liberantur] freed from the provincial tax sometimes called *tributum*, which must be distinguished from the *tributum* which had been levied on all Roman citizens up to the year 167, cp. § 93 l. 18. Lange III^2. 504 points out that Caesar may have intended to treat Crete and Sicily as he did Gallia Cisalpina, whose inhabitants he made *cives Romani*, whereby they were freed from the *tributum*. Of course Crete would not thereby cease to be a province, as Cicero chooses to assume.

27 *constringendus*] 'to be fettered' as a lunatic.

28 *decessum*] 'departure' from the province; not 'decease', though the words are the same.

29 *nihil ad Brutum*] Caesar had intended Brutus to be in charge of the province of Macedonia, which was changed by the senate, after his murder, to Asia and then to Crete. It is clear then that Caesar could not have arranged that Crete should cease to be a province at the close of Brutus' governorship, when he had never intended Brutus to have anything to do with it.

30 *ne...putetis*] 'that you may not think that no result was achieved'; for the phrase *nihil agere* 'to achieve a worthless result' see Mayor on Juvenal X. 155, Reid on Acad. II. 16.

31 *perdidistis*] another exaggeration.

omnino] 'in a word no one proposed to buy anything, but Antony was ready to sell it'.

§ 98.

32 *de exsulibus legem*] cp. Phil. V. 11 *restituebantur exules quasi lege sine lege.*

fixisti] laws were inscribed on bronze tablets, which were put up ('affixed') in the record department of the *aerarium* or public treasury; cp. Suet. Caes. 28 *lege iam in aes incisa et in aerarium condita.*

33 *calamitatem*] cp. note on § 56 l. 30.

p. 35. 1 *reditus inquinatos*] Caesar had allowed some exiles to return, and the special favour granted them was 'tarnished' by Antony's indiscriminate recall of those exiles whom Caesar had thought unworthy of the privilege.

3 *reliqui sunt*] 'are left over'; cp. note on § 13 l. 5.

5 *patrui*] whom he had refused to restore during his tribuneship, cp. § 56.

cum] slightly concessive, almost='although', hence the mood.

6 *censuram*] Antonius (the uncle) had been expelled by the censors from the senate with 63 others in B.C. 70 for various offences, and therefore it would naturally excite laughter and indignation when Antony urged him to stand for the office of censor. His expulsion from the senate did not last for long: Drumann I. p. 533.

7 *comparasti*] 'got up'.

§ 99.

8 *comitia*] the *comitia centuriata*, which would be held by Antony as consul.

9 *sinistrum*] the Romans in augury looked to the south, hence the west, the quarter of the setting sun, and therefore unlucky, was on their right hand; consequently *dextrum* should mean unlucky from a Roman point of view, though no instances of the word in this sense are quoted, but *sinistrum* is often used in the sense of 'favourable': the Greeks however looked to the north, so that to them the right hand was lucky, the left unlucky. Cicero is here clearly adopting the Greek usage, whereby *sinistrum* means unlucky, whence our word 'sinister'.

10 *nulla*] 'of no account'.

tuorum] sc. *interest*, which may be constructed with a genitive of the person interested or with the ablative singular feminine of the possessive

pronoun, as here *tua interest*; cp. Att. XIV. 16 § 3 *magni interest Ciceronis vel mea potius vel mehercule utriusque me intervenire discenti*: R. § 1284, 1285.

11 *septemviratu*] a commission of seven persons appointed by Antony and his brother Lucius to parcel out certain lands in Italy among his partisans. References to it are found in various passages of the Philippics, cf. V. 7, VI. 44, VIII. 26, XI. 13, XII. 20, 23. Five of the commissioners are known, the two brothers Marcus and Lucius Antonius, Dolabella, Nucula and Lento, leaving two unknown (Halm's Introd.: note 169; Lange III². 503 misinterprets Cic. Att. XV. 19 § 2). The uncle C. Antonius was first proposed as a member and then 'left in the lurch' by his nephew (*destituisti*).

12 *intervenit*] 'for a person intervened whom, I suppose, you were afraid you could not refuse without peril to yourself'. Madvig, quoted by M., says this was either Nucula or Lento.

14 *debebas*] notice that the apodosis to the protasis *si...esset* is virtually contained in the infinitive *colere*, and when such is the case it is usual to put the auxiliary verb (*debeo, possum, oportet* &c.) in the indicative, which 'conveys a positive expression of duty, possibility, right &c.' R. §§ 1564, 1566.

15 *filiam*] Antonia.

sororem] 'cousin', in full *soror patruelis*, but the adjective is dropped when the context prevents any possibility of mistake, so *frater*=cousin in Att. I. 5 § 1; LS. wrongly says that this usage is post-Augustan. The word *consobrinus*, from which comes our 'cousin', is properly the child of a mother's sister, but was used generally of all cousins-german. Antony seems to have divorced his cousin for the sake of Fulvia.

19 *sedente patruo*] this shows that C. Antonius had been recalled from exile, probably by Caesar, before 44, though his nephew had refused to recall him in 48, cp. § 56.

20 *stuprum*] as Drumann remarks Antony would hardly have advanced the charge of adultery in a full senate had there not been some ground for it, though Cicero calls Antonia *pudicissima femina*.

21 *interpretari*] for *interpretari* with dependent interrogative clause in sense of 'decide', LS. only quote Liv. I. 23 *neque, recte an perperam, interpretor*; cp. Att. XV. 26 § 2 *quod quale tibi videretur ut posses interpretari*.

24 *dixeris*] this word, placed at the end of the sentence, must be mentally supplied after *senatu*, *Dolabellam*, and *audiente*. It was

shameless of Antony to make such a charge in the senate, outrageous to accuse Dolabella with it, disgusting to speak of it before the elder Antony, cruel to bring such a foul charge against Antonia.

§ 100.

25 *quae*] 'what enquiry into them was there on your part?'

27 *quae quidem*] 'that is to say, such as Caesar had (really) performed': for the restrictive subjunctive cp. § 7, l. 31.

28 *ista*] that supply of 'autographs' that you possess.

30 *Kal. Iun.*] cp. Phil. I. 6 *ecce enim Kalendis Iuniis, quibus ut adessemus edixerant* (Antony and Dolabella), *mutata omnia: nihil per senatum, multa et magna per populum, et absente populo et invito.* Antony found the process of consulting with the senate about Caesar's *acta* too slow, and promulgated a law of his own in April by which the 'acts of Caesar' were confirmed.

consilio] a bench of assessors, chosen from the senate: the subject of *cognosceretis* is Antony and Dolabella, see last note.

32 *ad quas*] 'on (at) which': *quibus* might have been used as in Phil. I. 6 quoted above.

33 *peragratis*] Antony left Rome in April and spent some time in visiting the various colonies of veteran soldiers in order to win them over to his cause, cp. Att. XIV. 21 § 2, written 12 May, *nosti virum* (*Balbum*), *quam tectus, sed tamen Antoni consilia narrabat: illum circumire veteranos, ut acta Caesaris sancirent idque se facturos esse iurarent, ut arma omnes haberent eaque duumviri omnibus mensibus inspicerent.*

p. 36. 1 *mense Aprili atque Maio*] *Maio* is added as an afterthought, hence the singular *mense*, contrast § 101 *arationes Campana et Leontina.*

2 *Capuam*] Capua was already a colony of Roman citizens established by Caesar B.C. 59, cp. Suet. Caes. 20, Vell. II. 44, and therefore, as Cicero argued, Antony could not legally conduct a fresh colony thither, cp. below § 102. Capua, which before 209 was a flourishing municipal town, was then degraded and lost most of its political rights.

4 *paene non abieris*] Antony's proceedings at Capua seem to have caused a disturbance imperilling his life.

§ 101.

cui] 'and this town (Capua) you are now threatening'.

5 *conere*] supply *eo deducere coloniam* 'to conduct a colony thither'.

illud paene] "that word 'almost'": Cicero would like it to be no longer said that Antony had 'almost' failed to escape alive from Capua.

6 *prandiorum apparatus*] 'elaborate luncheons'. Romans in good health and of simple habits took only two meals in the day, the first called *prandium* (sometimes *ientaculum*) probably about 9 or 10 a.m., and then *cena* (dinner) about 1 or 2 p.m., but people of more fashionable habits took three, *ientaculum* a very slight early breakfast, *prandium* lunch, *cena* about 3 p.m. a meal which lasted some time. Note that to render *cena* by 'supper' is absurd.

8 *illa*] 'the following'; cp. *illud* in § 2.

agrum...dividebas] the sentence is slightly ungrammatical, because one expects a verb to which *qui* should be the subject: it would have been quite regular if Cicero had written *qui de vectigalibus exemptus... magnum infligere rei publicae volnus videbatur.*

de vectigalibus] supply *agris*: cp. Suet. Caes. 20 *agrum Campanum ad subsidia rei publicae vectigalem relictum, divisit extra sortem ad viginti millibus civium*, cp. above, § 100 l. 2.

9 *tamen*] 'nevertheless', i.e. notwithstanding that it was assigned to soldiers.

10 *compransoribus*] a word coined for the occasion: in modern phrase 'your companions of the luncheon and the card table'.

11 *dividebas*] mark the tense 'were for dividing', 'proposed to divide'.

13 *Leontino*] cp. note on § 43 l. 17.

quoniam quidem] 'since indeed'; these words give the reason for a thought which had rapidly passed through the writer's mind but had not been expressed, such as 'our loss is evident, since indeed', &c.

arationes] cultivated domain lands, paying a tithe (usually) of the produce: the occupants of these lands were called *aratores*, cp. Phil. III. 22 *en cur magister eius* (Sex. Clodius) *ex oratore arator factus sit.*

15 *grandiferae*] 'fertile', a very rare word. Dr Reid doubts the formation and suggests that Cicero may have written *graniferae*, a word only quoted by LS. from Ovid Met. VII. 638 in a different sense.

fructuosae] 'profitable', perhaps from *fructus* in its derived sense of 'profit', 'revenue', rather than in sense of 'fruits', 'produce': cp. Off. III. 5 *tota philosophia est frugifera et fructuosa.* In Phil. VIII. 26 Cicero says these domains were *annonae perfugia.*

medico] his name is unknown.

§ 102.

19 *Casilinum*] Cicero says Att. XVI. 8 (written 2 Nov.) that Octavian had won over the veterans stationed at Casilinum, a town near Capua; cp. Vell. II. 61 *C. Caesar* (Octavian)...*a Casilino veteranos excivit paternos.*

20 *consuluisti*] 'you consulted me it is true (*quidem*) by letter about Capua, but I should have given you the same answer about Casilinum' (if you had consulted me, as I did about Capua).

21 *possesne*] this is the purport of Antony's enquiry: (you asked me) 'whether you could', &c.

23 *auspicato*] 'under proper auspices': this absolute use of the ablative of the perfect passive participle is not uncommon in Cicero, but was widely extended in later Latin.

24 *adscribi*] 'enrolled': though a new colony could not be taken to a place where there was already one properly established, yet fresh individual colonists could be added to the register of the old.

27 *vexillum tolleres*] a colony proceeded to its destination in military order with a flag (*vexillum*), cp. leg. agr. II. 86 *illud Campanae vexillum coloniae*; on arrival the ground to be occupied was marked out with a plough: the flag and the plough are sometimes found on coins struck by Roman colonies. Roman colonisation was almost universally connected with military service.

29 *perstrinxisti*] 'grazed', perhaps *praestrinxisti* should be read: in leg. agr. II. 67 *perstringere aratro* is used of 'just cutting through' a hard soil with the plough.

§ 103.

31 *Casinatem*] Casinum now represented by M. Cassino about two miles from S. Germano and eight from Pontecorvo. Here lived for a time the most learned of the Romans, M. Terentius Varro, born 116, died 37. He is said to have written 490 books or treatises, among them the *de lingua Latina*, in 24 books, of which a great part remains.

32 *quo ore*] 'with what face'; so we say 'how had you the face to do it?' 'cheek' is an exact but vulgar equivalent of *os* in this sense.

p. 37. 1 *et si ab hasta*] 'and if (you came into possession of it) by purchase at an auction': Antony asserted that it was purchased from Caesar at the time of the Alexandrian war when Varro was fighting on the side of Pompey.

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p. 37. 1 *et si ab hasta*] 'and if (you came into possession of it) by purchase at an auction': Antony asserted that it was purchased from Caesar at the time of the Alexandrian war when Varro was fighting on the side of Pompey.

valeat] 'hold good', 'prevail': note that as far as the word goes, *valeat* might mean 'good bye to', 'I'll have nothing more to say to', as in N. D. I. 124 *deinde si maxime talis est deus ut nulla gratia nulla hominum caritate teneatur valeat*, but this would not suit the sense here: for a curious instance of ambiguity cp. Att. IV. 5 § 1 *sed valeant recta vera honesta consilia*, where I think Prof. Tyrrell is right in explaining *valeant* as 'prevail'.

2 *tabulae*] 'bills of sale'.

modo Caesaris, non tuae] provided that they really are Caesar's and not your own fabrication.

quibus...liberavisti] (provided that they are those) 'by which you have incurred debt, not those by which you have freed yourself from debt'. Antony bought property at sales without paying for it; on the other hand by getting possession of the treasures left by Caesar in the temple of Ops he freed himself from his gaming and other debts: thus *tabulae* is used in two senses, (i) 'handbills of sale', and so 'auctions', (ii) 'account books' of the money stored in the temple, and so denoting the money itself.

6 *ipsum*] 'of course it was too much trouble to wait for Caesar himself!'

§ 104.

9 *quid? si etiam*] 'again, what if Caesar even sent you written instructions to restore' (Varro's property)?

10 *impudentia*] your shamelessness in not restoring it.

12 *aliam caussam esse*] lit. 'that there is one case of Caesar's auction, another of your' &c.: translate more freely 'that Caesar's auction rests on different grounds from your' &c.: that is, if Caesar chooses to sell confiscated property (as he did Pompey's), well and good, but your audacity in seizing Varro's property is unjustifiable.

13 *confidentiae et temeritatis*] 'your unabashed temerity', 'unblushing audacity': *confidentia* is often used in a bad sense, as our 'confidence' sometimes is.

14 *procurator*] 'steward', 'bailiff'; any one who 'looks after' (*procurat*) the affairs of another; the word is familiar in its abbreviated form of 'proctor'.

17 *perbacchatus*] the compound is apparently coined by Cicero: *bacchari* is common.

ab hora tertia] from about 9 a.m.

18 *ipsa*] the 'very' house is to be pitied, cp. § 69 *me quidem miseret parietum ipsorum atque tectorum.*

quam dispari domino] the quotation is given more fully in Off. I. 139 *o domus antiqua, heu quam dispari dominare domino.* The source is unknown. Supply here *dominamini* or *dominantur*, either the second or the third person being admissible. Holden's reference to the present passage in his third edition requires correction.

21 *voluit*] notice omission of *esse.*

libidinum] 'debauchery'.

deversorium] 'a retreat': a place to turn aside to, from *deverto.*

§ 105.

23 *iura...doctrinae*] see Mommsen IV. 624 foll., 646 foll., for a sketch of Varro's varied literary activity; among his works may be mentioned *de lingua latina, de re rustica, antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum, de vita populi Romani, saturae Menippeae*: cp. Cicero's brief sketch of his works in Acad. I. 5.

25 *inquilino*] connected with *incolere, incola*, cp. *ecus* and *equos, cocus* and *coquos, quatio* and *incutio, quom* and *cum* &c.: the word does not often occur: it means a lodger or tenant, as opposed to the *dominus* or owner.

non enim domino] briefly for *non enim te domino dicam* 'for I won't say when you were master'.

27 *Casino*] from Casinum, near which town was the villa Casinas of Varro, cp. § 103 l. 31.

Aquino] a few miles from Casinum, in the direction of Rome, on the *via Latina.*

Interamna] said to be Teramo, a small village on the river Garigliano (the ancient Liris), south of Casino.

28 *obsolefiebant*] 'were sullied', 'degraded': *obsolesco* (from *obs=ob* and *olesco* 'to grow') = 'to decay', 'wear out'; sometimes used of things 'fading out' of memory: *ob* strengthens and adds a notion of completeness to the verb, R. § 2025.

§ 106.

30 *Aquinum*] see above.

ut est] 'as it is a populous town'; i.e. as you would expect, considering that it is a populous town.

31 *magna sane*] 'quite a considerable'.

operta] 'with closed litter', i.e. with the curtains drawn, opposed to *aperta lectica* above § 58.

32 *stulte*] supply *fecerunt*.

33 *Anagnini*] Anagnia was situated a few miles to the right of the *via Latina* and on high ground, hence *devii* and *descenderunt*.

p. 38. 1 *tamquam si esset*] supply *consul*. Cicero always refused to regard Antony as a properly elected consul, cp. note on § 10 l. 8.

2 *incredibile*] after some hesitation I have adopted the reading suggested in a footnote to Orelli's edition *incredibile dictu est, tamen vicinos inter omnis constabat* in preference to Madvig's ...*est; sed sum vicinus; inter omnis constabat*, which HM. adopt.

3 *resalutatum*] for similar rudeness on the part of Nero cp. Suet. 37 *certe neque adveniens neque proficiscens quemquam osculo impertiit, ac ne resalutatione quidem*.

praesertim cum] 'and that too though', cp. note on § 60 l. 12.

4 *Mustelam*] cp. § 8. One would fancy from Att. XVI. 11 § 3 that Cicero in the first draft of his speech omitted to mention the names of the two inhabitants of Anagnia, and that Atticus had asked their names, to which Cicero replies *Anagnini sunt Mustela* ταξιάρχης *et Laco qui plurimum bibit*.

quorum] in modern phrase 'one of whom is master of the sword, the other of the bottle'.

§ 107.

7 *Sidicinos*] dwellers in the district between Interamna and Suessa.

Puteolanos] the people of Puteoli, now Puzzuoli, a fashionable watering place on the coast of Campania.

8 *patronos*] the patron of a town or province was one who looked after its affairs in Rome: "it was an old custom for single colonies, municipal and provincial towns, as well as whole provinces, to place themselves under the protection of one or more Romans of position and influence, who, as their *patroni*, undertook for themselves and their descendants the duty of appearing on behalf of their respective communities in all legal questions in which they might be concerned, of advancing their interests to the best of their power, of supporting individual members in lawsuits in Rome, and of lending them private and personal help when required." MM. IV. 505. The *patroni* were often the founders (*tresviri*) of the colony, or their descendants. The people under the protection of a *patronus* were called his *clientes*. One sees here a system which might have been developed into a representative parliament for the Roman world.

magno...esse] 'and they (treated them) with great zeal &c., not as they did you and Basilus with violence and force of arms, you and others like you, whom no one would care to have as clients, much less to be your client'. The sentence is to our notions awkwardly expressed from the absence of the verb.

9 *Basilum*] nothing seems known of this person: no doubt he was a member of the *gens Minucia* to which belonged *L. Minucius Basilus*, one of Caesar's murderers.

11 *non modo*] a curious inversion of the usual *non modo...sed etiam*: not only would no one care to be their client but he would not even care to have them as his clients; this is expressed by saying 'whom no one would care to have as his clients, not only (would no one care) to be their client': consequently *non modo* is here equivalent to *nedum*, as the simple *non* sometimes is.

12 *qui dies*] so Cicero Phil. I. 30 addressing Dolabella says *quem potes recordari in vita illuxisse tibi diem laetiorem quam cum expiato foro, dissipato concursu impiorum...te domum recepisti?* this was at the end of April.

13 *bustum*] this sepulchral monument, erected by the impostor Amatius on the spot where Caesar's body had been burnt, was in the form of a column, cp. Suet. Caes. 85 *solida columna prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici*; Phil. I. 5 *eversio illius exsecratae columnae* (called *bustum* a few lines before); Att. XIV. 15 § 2. Dolabella put down with a strong hand the rising disorder in Rome after Caesar's death.

15 *concidisti*] 'you collapsed'; so in Greek συμπεσεῖν.

16 *de caelo detraxisti*] 'you pulled him down from the heaven of his renown', by bribing him: cp. Att. II. 19 § 2 *Bibulus in caelo est*, XIV. 17 A (addressed to Dolabella) *cum te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt*; the whole letter is full of the most extravagant eulogy; in the next letter Cicero writes to Atticus in a different tone, having heard of the bribery, *Kal. Ian. debuit, adhuc non solvit, praesertim cum se maximo aere alieno Faberi manu liberavit et Opem* (observe the pun) *ab eo petierit*; in Att. XVI. 15 § 2 he speaks of him as *emptus pecunia*.

18 *dissimilis*] so Phil. I. 5 Cicero extolling Dolabella's former conduct says *ut mihi mirum videatur tam valde reliquom tempus ab illo uno die dissensisse*.

§ 108.

qui] cp. § 76 *qui vero Narbone reditus.*

19 *Cinnam*] in B.C. 87 Cinna, deprived of his consulship and banished from Rome, joined forces with Marius and besieged Rome. They entered the city and 'devastated it with slaughter and rapine', Liv. Epit. 80. Cicero was then 20 years old.

20 *Sullam*] Sulla's supremacy lasted from 82 to 79; the proscription took place in 82, in 80 Cicero defended Sex. Roscius of Ameria, who was one of Sulla's victims. This was the first *caussa publica* in which he engaged.

21 *absconditi*] Cicero is surely grossly exaggerating in representing Antony as making a greater show of violence than Cinna or Sulla.

22 *nec ita multi*] this use of *ita* with a negative and qualifying an adjective or adverb seems to be chiefly Ciceronian: we should say 'not so many after all': cp. Phil. I. 7 *nec ita multum provectus reiectus austro sum*, 'and when I had not gone so very far after all, I was driven back by a southerly gale'.

23 *secuntur*] the subject is indefinite, 'men follow'. Cicero compares Antony's armed followers to an army marching in a compact body with the baggage in the centre, a disposition adopted in traversing a hostile country, or when a sudden attack was feared.

scutorum lecticas] 'littersful of shields', a curious use of the genitive of sort or material, R. § 1304.

24 *his inveteratis*] ablative absolute: 'these practices have now become chronic and we have been hardened to them by use'.

25 *cum*] slightly concessive, hence the mood.

26 *metu perterriti*] 'panic-stricken': cp. Phil. I. 6 *consules designati negabant se audere in senatum venire, patriae liberatores urbe carebant*, &c. Cicero adds that he himself preferred hearing of the doings at Rome to seeing them, and so kept away. In the beginning of June he was at his Tusculan villa.

§ 109.

27 *qui*] 'as one who did not need a senate': *qui=cum is* in causal sense.

28 *neque*] the *neque* correlates with the *que* after *statim*: the Greeks and Romans sometimes say 'neither...and', an idiom which is foreign to us; 'he *neither* missed anyone...*and* immediately performed those marvellous

exploits', thus the usage is almost equivalent to 'not only not...but also'. The words *sed potius...laetatus est* are parenthetical.

29 *qui*]=*cum is* 'though he', in concessive sense, cp. below *cum deberet* 'though he was bound'.

31 *concutere*] 'shake to its foundations'.

32 *numerum...prorogavit*] 'he extended the number of years for the tenure of provinces', cp. Phil. I. 19, where the old rule enacted by Caesar is stated *ne praetoriae provinciae plus quam annum neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur*, V. 7 *tribuni plebi tulerunt de provinciis contra acta C. Caesaris: ille biennium, hi sexennium*; in VIII. 28, Att. XV. 11 § 4 five years (*quinquennium*) is named as the time: in the former case the year of succession is probably taken into account (Mommsen in HM. Introd. note 211). From Phil. V. 7 we gather that the change only affected the consular provinces, and perhaps was only intended by Antony to apply to Dolabella and himself. Notice that the bill was brought in by the tribunes at the suggestion of Antony; his brother L. Antonius was one of them.

p. 39. 1 *publicis*] *rebus* must be mentally supplied with *publicis* and *privatis*, which are of the feminine gender, from the previous clause, otherwise Cicero would probably not write *in publicis* (neuter) for 'in public affairs', but cp. Q. Fr. I. 1 § 33 *publicis male redemptis*, quoted by Draeg. I^2. § 21.

3 *sine promulgatione*] cp. § 6 l. 19: 'he annulled some (of Caesar's) laws by others which were never promulgated'.

ut tolleret promulgavit] 'he promulgated others in order that he might annul' (Caesar's).

5 *infimis civibus*] dative of 'the indirect object' or 'person interested', here almost a dative of the agent; this dative is in Cicero chiefly confined to the perfect participle, cp. Off. III. 38 *honesta enim bonis viris, non occulta quaeruntur.* Madv. L. G. § 250 a.

6 *hortis*] cp. Suet. Caes. 83 *populo hortos circa Tiberim publice, et viritim trecenos sestertios legavit.*

7 *Scipionis*] P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, who being adopted by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius acquired the name Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio. He seems to have been spoken of indifferently as P. Scipio Nasica, Q. Metellus Scipio, P. Scipio Metellus, or Scipio simply. He was consul with Pompey in 52. His villa was mentioned above, § 42.

§ 110.

8 *et*] for *et* introducing an indignant question cp. § 39 l. 8.

10 *pulvinar*] a soft-cushioned couch placed before the statue of a god at the time of the *lectisternium* or 'feast of couches': the *pulvinar* is figured in SDA. '*lectisternium*'. The use of one, as an attribute of divinity, had been granted by the senate to Caesar. Dr Reid thinks the reference here is to the *pulvinar* placed in the *circus* on the occasion of the *pompa Circensis*, a solemn procession in connexion with the *ludi Romani* and other public festivals; such a *pompa* was allowed Caesar, cp. Suet. quoted on l. 11 and Festus p. 364 *tensam ait vocari Sinnius Capito vehiculum quo exuviae deorum ludicris Circensibus in circum ad pulvinar vehuntur*; cp. Cic. Att. XIII. 44.

simulacrum] commonly used of the image of a divinity, and, as such, the right of having one of himself was granted to Caesar.

fastigium] 'a pediment', a form of roof chiefly appropriated to temples. The senate allowed Caesar to erect one on the front of his house, thus making it resemble a temple; hence the *fastigium* is here classed with the other divine honours bestowed on him. The night before Caesar's murder his wife Calpurnia dreamed *conlabi fastigium domus*, Suet. Caes. 81.

11 *flaminem*] each deity had a special priest, called a *flamen*, to wait on him. Antonius was made Caesar's *flamen*, cp. Phil. XIII. 41 *cuius, homo ingratissime, flaminium cur reliquisti?* § 47 *Caesar* (Octavianus) *cuius patris flamen est*. Suetonius Caes. 76 thus enumerates the honours granted to Caesar; *ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est, sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali, tensam et ferculum Circensi pompa, templa, aras, simulacra iuxta deos, pulvinar, flaminem, Lupercos, appellationem mensis e suo nomine*.

12 *divo*] this is perhaps the first instance of the word *divos* applied to the deceased head of the state; it afterwards became the recognised epithet of the departed emperor. At the same time, as Caesar was worshipped as 'Juppiter Julius' during his lifetime, he may have been called *divos* even then; cp. Dio XLIV. 6.

13 *inaugurari*s] 'why are you not installed?' the ceremony of installation of a *flamen* was performed by the Pontifex Maximus.

vide] 'look for someone to instal you': *videre* in the sense of 'provide' is not uncommon.

14 *sive quod*] for the form of the sentence cp. § 16 l. 1, where however the interjection *o* is followed by the nominative.

16 *hodiernus dies*] Sept. 19th, on which day Cicero ought to have delivered this speech.

17 *quartum*] the *ludi Romani* lasted Sept. 4—18. See the Calendars in MM. VI. p. 559 and in Wordsworth 'Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin' p. 270, from the latter of which it appears that the games on Sept. 15—18 had the special appellation of *ludi Romani in circo*: to these games in the Circus Antony had added a fifth day, Sept. 19, in honour of Caesar, so that henceforth the *ludi Romani* lasted 16 days. The whole subject of these games is involved in great obscurity, as may be seen by anyone who consults the various authorities.

19 *praetextati*] it is by no means clear whether Cicero is here speaking in the capacity of augur, senator or ex-curule magistrate: HM. (ed. 2, 1865) say 'it seems that the augurs used their privilege of wearing the *praetexta* only on festivals or when engaged in the duties of their function': Manutius and others (followed by SDA. '*toga*') considered that the senators were entitled to wear the *praetexta* on festivals: lastly Halm (ed. 6) follows MM. I. 353, note 1 in the view that Cicero is here speaking as one who had held curule office, and that such persons had the privilege of resuming the *praetexta* on festal occasions. Mommsen finds a similar reference to the *praetexta* of the ex-consul in Phil. VIII. 32 *non ita gerimus nos hoc bello consulares, ut aequo animo populus Romanus visurus sit nostri honoris insignia*; and Liv. Epit. 19. To the last-mentioned view I incline.

20 *honorem Caesaris*] 'honour paid to Caesar'.

deseri] 'abandoned', 'disregarded': for some reason or other the proposed celebration of Caesar on the fifth day of the *ludi in circo* (Sept. 19th) seems to have been disregarded.

an supplicationes...conserva] Cicero makes a general complaint of inconsistency against Antony, which resolves itself into two main heads, (i) he had proposed that the fifth day of the *ludi in circo* should be consecrated to Caesar and yet neglects to see that this proposal is carried out; (ii) although constituted *flamen* to Caesar he yet neglects to fulfil the duties of a *flamen*, as though he thought that the *pulvinaria* would be contaminated by being associated with the worship of a mortal, though he had not thought that the *supplicationes* were contaminated by the addition to them of an extra day in Caesar's honour.

The confusion seems to be caused by the twofold mention of an additional day, (i) a day was added to the *ludi Romani*, an annual festival; (ii) a day was added to all *supplicationes*, which were festivals of uncertain occurrence. [It is hard to see how Antony avoided the *contaminatio* of the *pulvinaria* by abandoning the extra day at the *ludi Romani*. The *pulvinar* was decreed to Caesar *generally*, and would appear not merely on the particular day, but whenever there were *ludi Circenses*, for the *pompa* was certainly not confined to the *ludi Romani*. Again the *pompa opened* the games and did not close them. Therefore even if Antony abandoned the fifth day, Caesar's *pulvinar* must have already appeared at the opening ceremony. Perhaps it was intended that there should be some very special celebration of the *pompa* in Caesar's honour on the fifth day. J.S.R.]

§ 111.

26 *te...metiri*] 'that you make your own profit and not his dignity the standard of all your actions'.

27 *quid ad haec tandem*] supply *respondebis*, which is expressed after wards, when the thread of the sentence is picked up again after the parenthesis.

29 *apertiorem*] 'still more open', with a sly reference to the extreme 'openness' of Antony's dress on the particular occasion mentioned in the next sentence.

30 *simplicis*] 'straightforward', 'simpleminded': there was no concealment or duplicity about you, argues Cicero; you showed us your breast as well as your thoughts with equal openness. Notice the artful use of the phrase *pectus videre*, which in reference to *simplicis* might mean 'to see your inmost thoughts' (cp. Am. 97 *in qua* (*amicitia*) *nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil fidum...habeas*) and is also intended literally in the sense of 'to see your bared breast'.

31 *hiscere*] 'to open your mouth': generally used in a negative or quasi-negative sentence; only here in Cicero.

§ 112.

p. 40. 3 *defende*] 'defend' this day, that is, defend your conduct on this day.

5 *valvae Concordiae*] the folding doors of the temple of Concord; cp. Phil. V. 18 *opertis valvis Concordiae*, from which it appears that the doors had to be closed for security.

6 *Ityraeos*] cp. § 19: perhaps here the word is only a gloss on *barbaros*.

8 *miliens*] *miliens perire* or *mori* was proverbial, 'to die a thousand deaths'; cp. Rab. 15 *moreretur prius...miliens Gracchus quam* &c.

sua] 'one's own'.

9 *nullum est*] 'is a fiction'.

§ 113.

12 *ista*] 'your arms'.

14 *diuturnus*] more often used of things than of persons.

etenim] 'in fact'.

15 *quam...describo*] 'whom I characterise without insult'; *describere* is often used in an invidious sense, cp. Pis. 68 *non contumeliae caussa describam quemquam*, Cael. 50 *si qua mulier sit huius modi qualem ego paulo ante descripsi*, Hor. Sat. I. 4. 3 *si quis erat dignus describi quod malus ac fur*, Ep. II. 1. 152: *contumeliae caussa* is the opposite of *honoris caussa*, for which see § 31 l. 12.

16 *tertiam pensionem*] cp. § 11, where Cicero says that Fulvia was *fatale* to her former husbands Clodius and Curio. He now says that she owes the state a third payment of tribute, she ought now to prove fatal to her third husband. I do not understand the explanation in LS.

19 *ipsa res publica*] for the sentiment cp. the speech of Nikias to the Athenians in Sicily, Thuc. VII. 77 λογίζεσθε δὲ, ὅτι αὐτοί τε πόλις εὐθύς ἐστε, ὅποι ἂν καθέζησθε.

20 *ulta est*] by the death of Caesar.

21 *adulescentis*] Brutus and Cassius, both over 40 years of age; in § 118 Cicero speaks of himself as *adulescens* in B.C. 63 when he was in his 44th year. The period of *iuventus* (or *adulescentia*) was considered to terminate in the 45th year, when men were no longer liable to be called on for active military service. So too O. W. Holmes (Autocrat c. VII.) regards the 45th year as the starting-point of old age.

22 *quam volent illi*] 'however much they (shall) please', formed like *quamvis* (however much you please), the verbal origin of which (from

quam and *volo*) one is apt to lose sight of: cp. Verr. II. 2 § 102 *quam voletis multi dicent* 'as many as you please will speak'.

otio consulentes] cp. the joint letter of Brutus and Cassius to Antony written in May 44 (Fam. XI. 2 § 2) *nos ab initio spectasse otium neque quicquam aliud libertate communi quaesisse exitus declarat*, and § 3 *cum de nobis certum sit nos quieturos*: D. Brutus was too old (not less than 75) to be here referred to among the *adulescentes*, but Cicero uses corresponding language to him in Fam. XI. 5 § 2 *illud tamen breviter significandum videtur, populum Romanum omnia a te exspectare atque in te aliquando recuperandae libertatis omnem spem ponere.*

§ 114.

28 *at*] this use of *at* ('yet notwithstanding') after a conditional or concessive clause is only found in Cicero when the preceding clause is negative or quasi-negative, thus here *e conspectu se abstulerunt* is practically equivalent to *non adsunt*; this *at* is often accompanied by *certe, tamen, saltem.* Draeg. H. S. II². § 334, 6 > cp. below § 116 l. 26.

30 *Sp. Cassius*] cp. § 87.

32 *primum*] 'for the first time'; that is, they afforded the first instance, since the expulsion of the kings, of persons who attacked, not an aspirant to regal power, but one actually possessing it.

p. 41. 2 *expositum ad imitandum*] 'open for imitation', 'easy of imitation'.

praesertim cum] 'and that too though', used, as often, in a concessive sense, cp. § 60 l. 12: though their renown is too great for the world to contain, yet their example is easy of imitation, a delicate hint that someone should assassinate Antony.

3 *caelo*] 'within the bounds of the universe'.

§ 115.

7 *diem*] at the end of March or beginning of April.

9 *confer*] 'compare it'.

10 *tuorumque*] subjective genitive; 'trafficking practised by yourself and your friends'.

lucrum et laudem] note the alliteration, 'greed and glory': cp. Rosc. Com. 19 *qui eundem et laederes et laudares.*

12 *stupore*] 'deadness'.

13 *facinorosi*] 'criminal'.

15 *avocare*] 'to call off': hence 'avocation', which should not be used in the sense of vocation or ordinary occupation, as it often is by careless writers and speakers.

17 *isto modo*] 'after your fashion', i.e. by bringing armed retainers.

quid timendum sit] another hint at assassination.

§ 116.

18 *viros...civis*] another good instance of 'chiasmus'.

20 *quae*] 'what sort of a life is it'.

21 *timere a suis*] 'to have fears from one's own followers': *a* denotes the quarter from which the fear comes, cp. Sull. 59 *a quo quidem genere, iudices, ego numquam timui*; so with *metus*, Liv. II. 24 *metus a praetore Romano*, and with *metuere*: R. § 1810.

nisi vero...interfectus] 'unless indeed you have persons bound to you by greater obligations than were some of his murderers to him'. It is well known that many of the conspirators were under deep obligations to Caesar.

24 *ingenium*] 'genius, reasoning power, memory, literary taste, carefulness, thoughtfulness, exactness'; the words *cura* and *cogitatio* are often found in juxtaposition, as are also *cura* and *diligentia*; no one of the three has an exact English equivalent: for the very comprehensive meaning of *diligentia* cp. de Orat. II. 149, where, in the case of the public speaker, it is made to include *cura, attentio animi, cogitatio, vigilantia, assiduitas, labor*; it is the equivalent of ἀκρίβεια, indicating minute attention rather than mere application.

26 *at tamen*] 'yet for all that', cp. note on § 114 l. 28; here *calamitosas* implies the negative notion 'not beneficial'.

multos annos] opinions will always differ as to whether Caesar had for many years aimed at establishing a despotic rule: Cicero assumed it as self-evident.

27 *muneribus*] gladiatorial shows.

28 *monumentis*] public buildings.

congiariis] *congiarium*, sc. *donum*, meant originally a gift of wine to the amount of a *congius* (about six pints). Then it came to be used of 'wine money' ('trinkgeld') and so of any largess. For Caesar's lavish

expenditure as well as for the exhibitions and festivals which he furnished at his own expense see Suet. Caes. 38, 39: yet he is said to have reduced the number of recipients of grain at the public expense from 320,000 to 150,000, Suet. Caes. 41. The stability of the Roman state was seriously weakened by this pernicious habit of keeping the mob in the capital in good temper by periodical largesses.

29 *clementiae specie*] *species* when thus used implies a false show or pretence, but Cicero well knew that Caesar's clemency was genuine and invariable, even his enemies being agreed (as M. points out) that he was remarkably indulgent to his opponents. Curio however before he attached himself to Caesar agreed with Cicero, cp. Att. X. 4 § 8 *ipsum autem non voluntate aut natura non esse crudelem, sed quod popularem putaret esse clementiam*. See M.'s note. [The temple of Caesar as Iuppiter Iulius was united with that of Clementia. J.S.R.] Cp. Plut. Caes. 57.

§ 117.

p. 42. 1 *inusta*] lit. 'which were burnt into the state': we should say 'with which the state was branded'.

3 *quantum cuique crederet*] not 'how much it trusted each', as one might translate if one regarded the syntax alone without the sense, but 'how much it should trust each': this subjunctive is classed by Roby under the head of jussive subjunctives in dependent interrogative sentences, § 1612: contrast this with *didicisse quam sit pulchrum* in l. 5, for which see R. § 1758 foll.

5 *beneficio gratum*] acceptable by the benefit it confers.

7 *tulerint*] for the mood cp. R. § 1730.

§ 118.

8 *occasionis tarditas*] 'the slowness of opportunity': 'nor will men wait for the tardy arrival of the fitting moment'.

11 *quibus ortus sis*] especially the grandfather, whom Cicero held in esteem. Perhaps the preposition *a* should be inserted before *quibus*, cp. Madvig on Fin. V. 69, Reid on Acad. I. 3. The best MS is defective here, having *respice quaeso ali quibus ortus sis*.

mecum] supply *redi in gratiam*.

12 *redi*] we should begin this clause with 'but at any rate', but in Latin the abruptness caused by the omission of the adversative particle adds vividness to the style.

13 *videris*] 'but as to your own course of action you will see to that': *videris* is future perfect, see Roby pref. vol. 2, p. ci.—cvii.

ego de me ipse profitebor] 'I will speak for myself': *ipse* is to our notions somewhat redundant; notice that *de me ipso* would suit the English idiom better, but the other form is usual in Latin.

14 *adulescens*] cp. note on § 113 l. 21.

15 *obtulerim*] beware of regarding this as an apodosis to *si...potest*: *obtulerim* is probably to be regarded as an apodosis to a suppressed protasis such as *si necesse fuerit*, and *si...potest* is a kind of independent clause added afterwards: the whole sentence if expanded would run thus 'I should offer (lit. 'I should be found to have offered' perfect) my life willingly, if need should arise, in case the liberty of the state' &c., cp. R. § 1536, 1540; *crediderim*, *dixerim* &c. are often so used, cp. § 25 l. 9 *citius dixerim*.

16 *repraesentari*] properly 'to present again', 'to re-present': the word is often used in mercantile transactions in the sense of 'to pay back at once', 'to pay ready money': Cicero is fond of using it metaphorically: translate here 'if my death can ensure an early recovery of the liberty of the state'.

§ 119.

18 *abhinc*] 'from the present time', 'ago': with this word the accusative marking duration of time is used in preference to the ablative, cp. R. § 1092, and for apparent exceptions cp. § 1091: [the passages where the ablative is given in MSS of authors before Gellius hardly amount to half a dozen, which fact is sufficient to condemn the usage altogether. The difference between *annis* and *annos* to our MSS writers was nothing. J.S.R.]

19 *templo*] of Concord. Cicero refers to the fourth speech against Catiline; the first was delivered in the temple of Jupiter Stator, the second and third were *contiones*.

negavi] cp. Cat. IV. § 3 *nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari neque misera sapienti*.

22 *adeptus sum...unum ut*] these words, which are omitted in the oldest

MS, where they are added by a second hand, are supposed to be a late attempt to fill up a gap.

cuique...quisque] for the repetition, compare the well-known *mens cuiusque is est quisque*.

Prof. Nettleship (Journal of Philology XXIX. 35) commenting on the union of luminousness and beauty in Cicero's style remarks on the concluding paragraphs of this speech: "such a passage...speaks home to us with a living impression of unity and directness which we acknowledge without question. We admire and ask for nothing more."

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